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CENTRALISM VERSUS LOCALISM IN THE COMMUNITY

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN
Harvard University

A COMMUNITY can be thought of as a municipal corporation, parish, or a retail trade center. It is also one of the more common forms of social organization which mediates between the individual or the family and the outside world. In some periods, the community is concerned primarily with local self-government or regulation. At other times, as at present, communities take on numerous additional functions such as those of expanded social service. Such increased demands have resulted in community breakdown, with local control passing to larger groups such as state and nation and the emergence of a different type of local regulation. This paper attempts to show that the middle class, relative to the lower and upper classes, will lose most heavily in this emerging type of centralized local control.

My first conception was that the community is a large amorphous trade center with its smaller definite groupings, such as neighborhoods, school-districts, parishes, and interest organizations. In 1920 I supervised the field work in the study of two retail trade-center communities in Missouri. The studies included retail trade areas in the foothills around Columbia and other distinctive types in the drained swamps around Sikeston in southeastern Missouri. One of these communities gave a relatively undisturbed picture of the community of the hill-billy in his original environment and the other, of him after mass resettlement in the rich soil of the lowlands. The soil was better in the rich area around Sikeston, but the community appeared more prosperous and law-abiding around Columbia.¹

In Wake County, North Carolina, I spent two years studying "primary locality" groups. After mapping the major trade centers, the minor trade centers and villages, the townships, school districts, neighborhoods, and

¹ These studies were never published but some details are given in Carl C. Taylor's *Rural Sociology*, New York, 1933.

other small human aggregates, it became evident that a large number of human groupings existed between the families and large retail trade centers, such as Raleigh, North Carolina. The region was the residence of two races. This suggested that unless one conceived social organization as a result of geographic regionalism alone, there could be no such thing as a single area community in this region. The Negro and the White belonged to different castes. In their "willed" associations, other than economic, they were thrown with persons of their own color. This could be seen in the schools, churches, lodges, and other free or semi-free forms of organization. The region consisted of superimposed layers of social organization in one geographical area.

The township voting districts were definite geographic regions established by law and changed very slowly, if at all. Within the townships where distances were great, sub-voting districts had been formed, based largely on local conceptions of convenience, just as the district schools had been located before school control had passed into the hands of the county and the state. At the time of the study, however, there was little apparent correlation between school district groups and other forms of local organization. As a result, this confusion of local organization led to no clear-cut concept of the nature and functions of the community.²

Gradually, however, the community concept became clearer as I recognized that group cohesion made observable differences in the behavior of people. For the next six years, I paid primary attention to individual and family behavior and analyzed the community only incidentally as a means of isolating samples of population.³ My conception of the community broadened, however, as a result of my studies in Minnesota which had been settled by people of widely different national origin and language. Thus, it had Yankees, Irish, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Finns, Germans and French-Canadians scattered all over the state, each nationality tending to concentrate in different regions. As a result, this state had communities which were definitely of one national type or the other, as well as mixtures. For instance, Askov was clearly a little part of Denmark settled in America, as New York Mills was a part of Finland, Sleepy-Eye a part of Germany, and Pine Island a mixture of Yankees, Irish, Germans, Norwegians, Swedes and others.

In 1929, I undertook to find the main common characteristics of these Minnesota communities.⁴ Because of the development of commercialization and economic rationalization among the peoples of the northwest, it seemed that trading and communication might enable one to differentiate the

² For this study see Carle C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Organization," *North Carolina A.E.S. Bulletin* 245, 1922.

³ See *Minnesota A.E.S. Bulletins* 234, 240, 246, 253, 255 and *Technical Bulletin* 45.

⁴ See "Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota," *Bulletin* 269, *Minnesota A.E.S.*, 1930.

communities. Accordingly, all Minnesota trade centers were divided into two categories—-independent trade centers (352) and dependent trade centers or primary communities (1211). The line of demarcation was established by the fact that the independent trade centers had postal, telegraphic, railway express, banking and newspaper facilities. The smaller primary centers often had one or more of these communication facilities, but the independent communities were required to have all of them. Thus, from the standpoint of organismic sociology the independent trade-center community was conceived as one with a more highly developed and rapid system of communication and transportation with the outside world. The dependent type was more easily accessible to local members than to the outside world.

This study suggested a duality of function in the local community. The small, elementary trade center was a community where the people carried on their routine, day-by-day functions of living. They maintained local order and security and expressed without interference what individualism they cared to, insofar as the expressions were agreeable to the majority and did not violate the laws of the state. In the larger secondary trade centers, the people participated in the outer world and were accommodated to the "Great Society." Obviously, a division of labor existed; the primary community expressed (in a typological sense) man's localism and the secondary, his cosmopolitanism. One who resided in close proximity to an independent trade center necessarily secured both his private and his public, or his local and his larger, social expression through the same geographic community. This indicates why, in towns and cities, one sees the duality of regulation between the ward, or local grouping, and the wider or more general city organization. In Asia, it is to be noted, such duality is expressed by the village as against the county and provincial regulation of human affairs.⁵ Thus, naturally, in the field of community study, one sees a general dualism which may be expressed as Hegelian antitheses or polar extremes.

While these studies were being made, assertions were common and have been growing ever since, that the day of the local community has passed. Numerous writers have held that the small community will disappear with the improvements in communication and transportation and man will be ruled increasingly through larger societal units.⁶ It is claimed that *local self-government will be replaced by political centralization*. At that time (1930) I resolved to test this hypothesis and its implications by repeated investigations in different types of communities. The question was whether localism, the community, individualism, and provincialism still had important societal roles. My skepticism of the alleged advantages of this "new" principle of centralization was strengthened by considering its relation to

⁵ See Carle C. Zimmerman, *Siam: Rural Economic Survey, 1930-31*, Bangkok, 1931.

⁶ L. W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America*, New York, 1937. Chap. 3.

Aristotle's Golden Mean and to the numerous Hegelian antitheses or "opposites" which have been set forth by social thinkers.

The first opportunity to test the hypothesis came through participation in the Canadian Pioneer Belt Committee studies. The prairie provinces were a fairly homogeneous territory largely settled after modern communication and transportation were in general use. Furthermore, the population in the different regions had the same high proportion of individual heterogeneity. Under the Canadian method of settlement the larger trade centers, administrative offices and central social units were set up first. Consequently, any development of the smaller local community would arise in response to basic social needs rather than as an adaptation to poor communication facilities. The small local communities in the United States had been attributed to this poor communication at time of settlement.⁷

In these Canadian studies, curves differentiating the communities by size were drawn to find whether, after twenty-five years of settlement, the proportion of small local communities was as great in the prairie provinces as in the older settled regions of the world. The investigation showed that the proportion of small localistic aggregates in Canada was the same as in the older settled regions. The conclusion was drawn that localism meets a permanent and probably universal societal need. It represents one pole in the local-central antithesis, both of which (synthesis) are necessary in total social organization. Neither localism nor centralization can be escaped in the ordinary administration of human affairs. Human nature has a dual aspect which calls for duality in social organization (community and society, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*). The problems of life can not be met satisfactorily by any system of social organization which overemphasizes either polar element. The difficulties which man has in governing his affairs are results of cultural and personal conflicts and confusions and are found in both centralized and localized government. Everywhere, man faces the problem of what aspects of human life should be left to the individual and what to the societal, of what should be left to the local community as contrasted with the more distant units. These are eternal problems of the human species and not peculiar to North America or to the 1930's. Furthermore, these problems are significantly related since the preservation of the local community is a factor in conserving the real liberty of the middle and lower classes.

In 1933, some further investigations of the topic were begun in New England. The New England town is of especial interest because it represents the oldest and most colorful local community of the European races

⁷ See the data in Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin's *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, University of Minnesota Press, 1932, vol. 3, 645-653.

on the American continent.⁸ Furthermore, records are available for most of the communities for nearly three hundred years. It was felt that local communities might have persistent forms of behavior which could be characterized under the word "type" in somewhat the same way that term has been used in personality studies. This idea had been emphasized by the Minnesota experience. Accordingly, an attempt was made to delineate "types" of communities in New England, such as:

(1) *Low-level Parasitism*. People live on rather low incomes with little productive work. Five hundred dollars per family per year without much work is preferred to \$1000 or \$1500 with the extra work involved. The parasitism comes from using the community organization as the primary agency in "collecting" this \$500 per year from the world at large.

(2) *High-level Parasitism*. People here could live on a low level with little productive work, but the desire for a high standard of living has stimulated the people to greater activity. Families average about \$2000 per year, 50 percent of which comes from agreeable productive work easily available to them and 50 percent from a very careful cultivation of parasitic resources ("working" for summer residents in the summer and taxing outside property holders for comfortable jobs in the winter).

(3) *Haven of Refuge*. Hill community with a population of hill-billy farmers and former mill-workers. Has a natural tax monopoly on a valuable public utility. People have come here because of low living costs, freedom, garden plots, low scale of living, etc. Gradually a system has developed whereby all but fifteen or twenty families who work for the public utility, work for \$300-\$400 annually at jobs paid for from taxes which they pile upon the public utility. Is a self-perpetuating sink of spiritual degeneration, rather than a healthful economic convalescent home. Subsistence farming is being abandoned for town jobs which tend to have less and less "real" utility.

(4) *Sheltered-life Community*. An agrarian community which never has done anything really bad except to remain innocuous. Always has had fair agricultural economic resources but no industrialization. Has always been a puritanical, "goody-goody" type of community. Such communities are like the sheltered type of person who never really "lives." What will become of them when "organized community chiseling" becomes an important economic necessity?

(5) *Belligerent Community*. Illustrated by one whose whole history has been one of continual fighting for the last hundred years. Neighboring towns refuse to join with it in anything because they know any alliance is sure to end in conflict. It fought its way to friendless bankruptcy. As a state ward, it picks its living where it can, a belligerent pauper.

A number of other types was found. One which was industrialized before the Civil War later lost its industries and apparently has resolved to remain agricultural so far as it can. This community "licked its own wounds" and cured itself. Another has always been connected with industry and trade because it developed in a region which had few agricultural possibilities. Through a period of 300 years, due largely to an *intelligent aristocracy* of

⁸ The Spanish-American communities are to a large extent Indians with only a little Spanish blood.

certain prominent families, it has met each exigency by careful thought, retrenchment and adaptation, and has continued to be prosperous. Another, with the same kind of leadership, has developed into a small manufacturing city of 12,000 people, and has successfully adjusted itself to the successive passing of the shipbuilding and the textile industries. Now it is successfully facing the migration of its automobile-body industry to Michigan. This community suggests *high industrial tolerance* in the same sense that an habitual drinker often has more tolerance for alcohol than does the teetotaler. Another community is characterized primarily by the fact that an over-paternalism has left it soft and spiritless, unable to do things for itself. When the old paternal industrial firms passed away, it was left in a sorry shape. As one views its history of the last ten years, one is reminded of jackals nosing among the ruins of a burned city trying to find pieces of charred flesh.⁹

However, types of communities give but a part of the picture. It soon became evident that complex communities have many sides and are multi-themed. Furthermore, old communities usually show alternating periods of prosperity and meagerness. It was found that these periods tend to be synchronized by region according to dominant cultural changes. Thus, the development of the highly industrialized village in nineteenth-century Massachusetts was accompanied by the rise of many similar communities. Earlier the villages had been similar because of similar origin and similar relation to agricultural markets. These communities now acquired many common characteristics not only because of similar agrarian backgrounds and industrial development, but also because the state had standardized "local" life. It had set the forms of community life, rewarded the conformer, assisted the weaker, held back the stronger, and punished the nonconformist to the limits of its increasing authority. Within this general conformity of community life came a new note—a conformity in behavior not only for advantages but also for mistakes. "Depressions" as well as "prosperity" became generalized. Sameness meant identity in behavior and identity in susceptibility to fads, fancies, debts, expenditures, depressions and suffering.

That centralized control of the community, whether by large industrial corporations or by the government, was a reality, was made more apparent by the fact that Massachusetts, which had been declining industrially relative to other states since 1910 at least, showed practically similar suffering in all its communities. Thus, "types of communities" within a culture integrated by communication and standardization had to be thought of as variants within more general trends. This led to thoughts about the general "trend" of the present community. It was evident that the fundamental

⁹ For the history of this community up to its "jackal" period, see Zimmerman and Frampton, *Family and Society*, New York, 1935, chaps. 16-18.

trend in our communities was towards centralization and standardization and away from local self-government.

For some time, the enthusiasm for the efficiency held to be inherent in largeness has emphasized the "necessity" for centralization. The industrial system with its emphasis upon centralization, whether through chain stores, branch factories or advertised goods, naturally has brought about a similarity from community to community. The development of the concept of "parity" between regions and between rural and urban districts, whether in the nature of rewards and grants, especially for education, police and relief, of minimum wage laws and industrial regimentation, or of propaganda itself, means standardization, which in turn promotes centralization. Finally, the belief that "the day of the local community has passed" and that the county, the state and the federal government should take over the functions formerly handled by the local community is gradually reducing local self-government. To study this trend, an analysis was made of an English village where the destruction of local rule has progressed much further than in the United States.

This English village is Harwell, located in the rich lands of Berkshire county about fifty miles west of London. An agricultural village was chosen so the influences of governmental centralization could be studied without the complicating factors of industrial centralization. Berkshire county is the historic center of English culture. Before the Roman occupation, it was the stronghold of a dominant Celtic tribe. In the Roman period, it was the province of *Brittania Prima*; in the Saxon period which followed, it produced Alfred the Great and the spiritual movement which began present England. Today, it is known as the Royal County since Windsor Castle is at the eastern end. Thus, the village represents the "heart" of historic Anglo-Saxon culture.

Harwell is small, never having had more than 800 people since its Iron Age origin about 500 B.C. Historical and archaeological records are available for most of its existence due to its location along two famous prehistoric roads, the Icknield and the Port Ways, and due to the fact that its lands were recorded in the early Saxon grants, in Domesday Book, and in the records of Oxford College which has had extensive holdings there for some centuries. It is not a "typical" English agricultural village, but is rather a typical English community. To a considerable extent, it recapitulates English history and English historical culture.

Since the Reform Bill of 1832, when many former functions were taken from all local communities, this village has been moving gradually toward the social type which results from great centralization and standardization of culture and government. The Local Government Act of 1894, its amendments and the resultant administrative practices have completed this development until what little localism remains is exhibited in personal, not

communal, behavior. A nearby district headquarters performs some of the clerical and bookkeeping phases for thirty-three similar villages or parishes. The nearest policy-making administration is at Reading (the shire town), twenty miles away, but control is moving rapidly from there to London. In the last 100 years, the movement of self-government away from the village has consisted in a number of steps in which functions and powers were first moved to the Rural District Council, then to the County Seat, and then to London. Five nominal parish councillors exist, but public interest is so lacking that they have become practically a self-perpetuating body of local "informers" rather than "rulers." Thirteen of the thirty-three villages in the district have not had parish councillors since 1894.¹⁰ In the past twelve years, Harwell has not had an election. The village is permitted by law to spend only a nominal sum and the people are unwilling to spend this except on very rare occasions (e.g., coronation feasts). Its chief powers concern the definition of custom as to footpaths and the improvement of the village cemetery. Since the footpaths are now abandoned in favor of bicycle and automobile roads and the cemetery is largely taken care of by the church, the Parish Council operates chiefly as an information board for reporting the feelings of the people to the Civil Service Clerks at the County Seat. These Civil Service Clerks are responsible primarily to London, although a semblance of County and District government is retained.

This village, then, represents the net result of the almost complete centralization of government. It is not complicated by industrial centralization, so that any conclusions apply primarily to the results of governmental centralization and the absence of local self-government.

The general trend in this country seems to be in the same direction. The Canadian Pioneer Belt studies may be taken rather as proof of the fundamental needs met by localism than as evidence that localism in the United States is in a "healthy" condition. The "healthy condition" must be conceived as a harmonious and logically balanced division of labor between the local and centralizing social agencies. The thesis of this paper is that this balance is being rapidly upset by the invasion of local communities by centralizing and standardizing agencies, both industrial and political, to the great damage of local self-respect and self-reliance. This invasion is based upon administrative convenience and assumptions of "efficiency" and advantages of bigness, rather than upon any realistic, scientific understanding of the needs and functions which can best be performed by the local communities. Therefore, if this trend continues unabated, as it bids fair to do, I believe the following tentative predictions concerning the future of local government in America can be made.

¹⁰ This is required for villages over 300; optional but advised for most smaller villages. Only the "required" villages had councillors and they usually did little or nothing.

1. *America is rapidly losing local self-government.* America seems to be following the English practice of minimizing if not destroying local self-government. This movement starts with governmental aid by the states and federal units, thereby insuring standardization. This is followed by an exaggeration of administrative "necessity" when the standardized local community begins to suffer from the general problems which affect the whole society. These new temporary agencies of the state and federal governments tend to become institutionalized and so to endure. The local communities yield because it is the easiest way out of the situation and because they do not know what is in store for them. A general belief is created that the local communities are incapable of self-government. The central administrative authorities are strengthened. Within a few years, local initiative for self-rule disappears and the central administrative organs become dominant. In time, authority is concentrated in state and federal administrations. Counties and regional administrative organs become more and more subservient to the central authority.

2. *A primary result will be an increasing lack of realism in the new community control.* This central authority always governs from a distance. The government and the governed are separated by time, distance and standardized impersonality. As a result, the central governmental agencies tend to rule local communities on theories of justice which may be quite different from the realistic theories of justice which otherwise would exist in those communities, arising from local needs and conforming to local mores.

3. *The middle classes will decline.*¹¹ In the ordinary self-governing local community, the tendency is for the middle classes to hold the upper families somewhat subservient to middle-class interests. The lower classes can do this only to the extent necessary to prevent physical suffering of the poverty stricken. Under centralized systems, the upper classes are freed from this direct responsibility and the lowest classes receive greater subsidies at the expense of the middle groups. The middle classes prosper most when local self-government is strong. The upper families are few and lonesome. They join with the middle groups to the advantage of the latter. The lower groups must work hard, but the upper and middle classes see that they do not suffer. Under centralization, the upper classes have fewer privileges to give the middle and the lower have more success in getting aids and gifts from the central government, so they can live as well without working as hard as formerly. This tends to parasitism as I have shown above.

4. *Irritating and pointless sumptuary legislation will increase.* The centralized government will become so unrealistic that it is willing to enforce

¹¹ The argument here is somewhat similar but also different from that put forth by R. von Gneist and as discussed by Josef Redlich, *Local Government*, London, 1903, vol. 2, 375 ff. It is also different from the Marxian theories of the middle-class decline.

pointless sumptuary legislation most of which is never actually experienced by the law-makers themselves. Illustrations are forbidding consumption taxes. The sale of tobacco, stimulants and necessities is so regulated that the needs of particular communities are never met since the rules are designed for the nonexistent "average" community. In short, one can not buy what he wants when and where he wants it as freely as in the locally governed community. This is an irritating and pointless invasion of the traditional "rights and freedom" of the individual.

5. *A dull bureaucracy arises, sensitive only to the wishes of the "very influential."* Most governmental agents become clerical employees responsible directly to the centralized authority. Bureaucracy grows in power. Where local government exists, a citizen represents a vote, a neighbor and a physical acquaintance; the town official tends to be very pleasant to him; but the dull Civil Service bureaucrat listens only to those who have the high privilege of speaking directly to the Central Administrative Authorities. Consequently the lower classes, becoming parasitic wards of the central government, lose a friendly psychological relation with its agents. A poverty-stricken individual in a village like Harwell may live in a mediocre house practically given to him by the central government, but his chances for securing kind, neighborly treatment when he approaches a bureaucratic clerk are less than under localized control. The bureaucrat is always afraid of his job or his promotion. Consequently, he avoids taking responsibility and acts only under direct orders from above. He always says "maybe" or "do you have permission," or "come again and I will see" rather than "yes" or "no."

6. *The masses have to raise real rumpuses in order to be heard.* The Civil Service bureaucracy becomes a self-perpetuating institution with all the defects of such institutions. It is difficult to remove incompetent and discourteous employees and to infuse "new blood." When bureaucracy is near and competent, it is probably more efficient than the average local government, but when it decays, it must become very bad before it can be purified by the voice of the people. It takes a rebellion instead of an election to restore efficiency to a decadent bureaucracy.

7. *The rule tends to be class rule based upon "fear of the law."* The bureaucrats have great power over the people. The people are ruled by "fear of the law" rather than respect for it. The penalties for trivial offenses are more severe and more harshly applied than in the community with local government; and major offenses, particularly by members of the upper classes or well-to-do, are not penalized so severely. Pull and privilege count for more. Equality under the law is more of a farce under bureaucracy than under strong local government.

8. *Government by petition and petitioners tends to come into existence.* The local people lose interest in community affairs and become immersed primarily in private doings. Local government tends to become a matter of petitions which are directed only at the more obvious (objective) "injustices." The intangible things in government can not be clarified by petition since the bureaucrats generally do not know the local situation. Government passes more and more from subjectivity to objectivity and from thoughtful people to petitioners, interest groups, reformers, and so on.

9. *The costs of the centralized government will be very high.* Since the primary interest of central governments is necessarily in national and not in local affairs, in times of emergency it sacrifices the local interests for the achievement of national ends. Sources of taxation, whether exploited or not, which were formerly available to local governments are garnered in by the central governments for their purposes. Since governments tend to keep what they take, whether in sources of revenue or in the general level of taxes, the burden of public expenditures mounts from crisis to crisis until the whole system must be torn up in order to get any relief. Also, old obligations which have lost utility or are considered inequitable and so are sloughed off by local governments, remain continuous liabilities under central governments.

10. *For these high taxes relatively much less will be secured.* Little comforts and conveniences which local communities sometimes feel they can afford, such as street lights, community Christmas trees, compulsory indoor toilets, abolition of private wells, etc. are not secured by the local community under centralization unless the whole nation is ready. If most of the nation is ready for footpaths, these are built, whether needed everywhere or not. If a particular community can afford street lights, these are not as often secured because government is by large units, and any undue local expenditures makes the community an object of suspicion.

11. *Once the movement gains headway it can not be stopped except by revolution.* Local movements favorable to local government are met by the repeated contention that the local people are incapable of self-government but "will be given more rights as they show themselves capable." Finally, certain minor privileges to do things are given them in addition to the already heavy burdens imposed by the central government. The agitation soon subsides because the minor privileges are unimportant and any uncovering of additional resources makes the community subject to suspicion, as already has been pointed out. To change this course of events, a violent movement, practically a revolution, is required.

12. *Responsibility will pass to the organization which has the power, and the social machine becomes standardized instead of individualized.* Under

local self-government, responsibility for many intangibles is accepted by the community. However, when community authority is removed to other agencies, responsibility for these intangible things will die away in the local community. Thus, a great many things now done by the community will be neglected. Others, such as care of the poor or unfortunates, or those who are merely lazy, will be done far differently than in a community with responsibility for its own affairs. Ordinarily, under centralized control, more people will get aid from the government, but in the long run, the worthy who really need help, will get relatively less. Help to the unfortunate will be standardized and made more or less mechanical. There will be much less individualization in treatment of all problems.

While prediction is dangerous, these conclusions are suggested by the specific first-hand studies described here. These conditions seem likely to arise unless the leaders in our contemporary culture realize where we are going and are clever enough to persuade the people to take a hard, rather than the easiest, way out of present difficulties. A highly centralized social system will be more favorable than the present one both to the incompetent and to the extremely clever. The rich may not have as much money, but they will have a relatively higher position. The chief sufferers from the viewpoint of our present conceptions of equality and justice will be the middle groups who will work harder and will get less. Some of them will become more unscrupulous and work into the upper classes, but the great majority will sink to a level not far above the condition of the present lowest classes. On the other hand, the lower classes will not work so hard and will live no better because they will merely substitute the new sources of social aid for some of their present income. The net result will be a decrease of that initiative, self-respect, local pride and ability to handle their own affairs which has heretofore been an outstanding characteristic of the American people.

TEACHER AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

LLOYD A. COOK, RONALD B. ALMACK,

FLORENCE GREENHOE

Ohio State University

ONE NOTES today in the preparation of teachers a general swing away from the traditional type of training to a study of living, changing communities and their problems. To those who see values in this newer emphasis, one fact is increasingly evident. Insight has led the way into this field, as into almost all others, but further progress is dependent upon the development of systematic, quantitative studies. There is at present no sociology of childhood, no scientific understanding of school and community interaction, and little exact knowledge of the teacher's out-of-school contacts and relationships.

The present paper deals with three problems in the last area. It is a preliminary report on one section of a larger, nationwide survey now under way. Findings are based upon questionnaires returned by 622 Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania teachers. Schedules were distributed in about even proportions to teachers in service and to teachers in summer school classes. While many schools were covered *in toto*, the present sample is not offered as representative. Cases were taken as they came, the first 622 being scored, and no effort was made to equate them in terms of representative sizes and kinds of communities.

In brief analysis, 70 percent of the teachers were in the grades and 30 percent in high schools; three-fourths were men and one-fourth women; 66 percent were under 35 years of age, 47 percent under 30 years, with the modal range at 25-29. About three-fourths had taught less than 15 years, over half less than 10, and one-fourth less than 5. Almost 60 percent had been in their present positions less than 5 years. Respondents were in the main of native birth, from lower middle class homes, and of rural and small town backgrounds. One-half of the school systems represented were in country and small town areas; the remainder were in cities ranging from 40,000 to 300,000.

1. *Teacher mobility.* That teachers are migratory persons is well known; what is not known is how far they travel. Table 1 indicates the extent of migration as measured by reported distances from (1) place of birth and (2) place of last college education to successive teaching positions. A significant fact is that about 50 percent of the respondents had traveled less than 50 miles from place of birth to successive teaching positions. Similarly, slightly more than one-fourth had traveled this distance from place of last college education to successive positions. Less than a third averaged a travel distance of 100 miles or more from either place to any teaching

TABLE 1. MILES TRAVELED BY TEACHERS FROM BIRTHPLACE AND LAST COLLEGE TO SUCCESSIVE POSITIONS*

Distance in Miles	Percent Reporting Distance from Birthplace to Successive Positions					Percent Reporting Distance from Last College to Successive Positions				
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
0 - 9.9	27.1	30.9	24.6	31.4	32.8	9.6	10.9	12.7	15.4	16.4
10.0- 24.9	15.5	14.6	12.2	11.8	9.1	10.2	9.1	7.0	7.1	4.5
25.0- 49.9	10.6	7.6	11.3	7.1	6.7	10.4	7.8	7.3	6.3	6.4
50.0- 99.9	14.4	16.2	17.8	16.9	16.2	40.7	42.8	43.0	40.8	40.3
100.0-199.9	15.7	12.7	14.5	14.9	16.6	15.5	15.1	16.3	11.7	15.4
200.0-499.9	10.9	11.4	12.2	11.5	11.9	8.6	9.1	8.0	12.9	9.5
500.0 & over	5.8	6.6	7.4	6.4	6.7	5.0	5.2	5.7	5.8	7.5
Number Reporting	549	458	337	296	253	479	384	314	240	201

* Percentages based on numbers reporting in each category.

position. While a larger sample may reveal significant differences in distances traveled as between men and women, grade and high school, such differentials are not evident in the cases at hand.

In general, the principle most descriptive of teacher migration is that of "limited circulation."¹ While surveys are needed of other comparable groups, it is likely that teachers move more often, but at shorter distances, than do doctors or even ministers. Insofar as limited circulation applies, it can be accounted for chiefly by school board and teacher preferences. During the depression in particular, many local and state administrators considered it a patriotic duty to employ only residents as teachers. Teachers themselves show a tendency to work back, in their changes of position, toward home towns, though the trend is counteracted in part by movement from smaller to larger communities. The "desire to better self," financially and professionally, is given as the dominant motive.

2. *Teacher participation.* To find the nature and extent of teacher participation in organized community life, a check list of 30 common activities and organizations was prepared. The range of these associations is suggested by the titles: adult study club, church, Sunday school, parent-teacher group, Scouts, luncheon clubs, town band, Ladies' Aid Society, lodge, and Grange. Respondents were asked to indicate whether the activity existed in the school community, and if so, to check the nature of their participation (if any) in it. Four categories were provided: give money, attend at times, attend regularly, and officer or sponsor. Teachers were also requested to write in any organization not on the list.

As seen in Table 2, only 2.3 percent of the 622 teachers admitted a lack

¹ For the general application of this concept, see C. E. Lively, "Spatial Mobility of the Rural Population," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1937, 43: 101-102.

TABLE 2. TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZED COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Number of activities	Percent of 622 Teachers Reporting				
	Participation	Give Money	Attend at Times	Attend Regularly	Officer Sponsor
None	2.3	18.6	30.5	9.5	55.1
One	6.6	16.7	23.6	29.7	24.2
Two	13.8	18.2	22.0	24.0	10.8
Three	19.6	15.9	12.9	17.0	4.5
Four	22.5	13.4	7.1	11.6	2.9
Five	14.3	7.9	2.1	5.8	1.6
Six	9.7	4.3	0.5	1.0	0.5
Seven	4.2	2.4	0.8	0.6	0.2
Eight	2.9	1.1	0.3	0.8	—
Nine	1.3	1.3	0.2	—	0.2
Ten*	1.4	0.2	—	—	—

* Less than 2 percent report engaging in 11 to 14 activities.

of participation in all community activities. Slightly over one-fifth took part in 4 activities, 60 percent in 4 or more, with only a negligible number in more than 8. Almost a fifth gave no money to community clubs or organizations, while one-half contributed to from 1 to 3. About 55 percent attended at times one to two community events, and 53.7 attended the same number regularly. More than one-half held no official leadership position in any community club or activity. Less than one-fifth served in this capacity in more than one organization.

An analysis of the six activities showing greatest teacher participation is broadly symptomatic of the teacher's identification with organized community life. Using regular attendance as the index, these activities are in rank order: parent-teacher associations (67.8 percent), church services (41.5), Sunday school (36.7), church young peoples' society (6.3), adult study club (5.6), and lodge (4.5). As might be expected, teachers give money to more organizations than they attend regularly. They contribute most heavily, presumably in both time and money, to church and parent-teacher activities. With the exception of these activities, the teachers sampled were seldom leaders in locality life. In general, one is not impressed with their role and status in the many associations which comprise the functional community.

While the above inference is based upon the data presented, it is supported by a study of the "pressures" felt by teachers to make them take part in community affairs. Of the 622 respondents, 51.3 percent mentioned such pressures. Table 3 shows the areas in which controls are reported, and the teachers reporting by number, sex, and grade. High school teachers are more aware of community pressures than grade school teachers, and men are somewhat more sensitive to locality expectations than are

TABLE 3. PRESSURES BROUGHT TO BEAR ON TEACHERS TO PARTICIPATE IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Community Activity	Teachers Reporting									
	Female		Male		Grade		High		Total	
	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent
Parent Teachers Association	106	42.1	32	47.8	97	40.8	41	50.6	138	43.3
Church: Sunday School	83	32.9	30	44.8	79	33.2	34	42.0	113	35.4
Boy Scout—Girl Scout	19	7.5	5	7.5	18	7.6	6	7.4	24	7.5
Charities—Red Cross	36	14.3	16	23.9	28	11.8	24	29.6	52	16.3
Clubs (Men and Women)	25	9.9	4	6.0	21	8.8	8	9.9	29	9.1
Local Government—Politics	10	4.0	5	7.5	7	2.9	8	9.9	15	4.7
School Activities	15	6.0	2	3.0	10	4.2	7	8.6	17	5.3
Miscellaneous	22	8.7	16	23.9	21	8.8	17	21.0	38	11.9
Number Reporting	252		67		238		81		319	

women. These conclusions are tentative, due to the small number of cases.

3. *Conduct codes for teachers.* The most interesting findings for sociology relate to locality conduct codes for teachers. After an inventory of 41 lengthy life histories,² a check list of the 17 most frequently appearing out-of-school activities was prepared. These forms of teacher behavior were selected, first, because they were usually prohibited by local mores, and secondly, a substantial number of teachers appeared to engage in them. Respondents were asked to indicate, on the basis of personal knowledge, how their present school community would react to teacher behavior in each of the areas. They were asked also to write in forms of teacher conduct omitted from the list. Four categories of answers were provided: approve, tolerate, disapprove, and discharge teacher. Table 4 indicates teacher response as a percentage of all (622) teachers reporting on each item.

The table reveals a total teacher response ranging in 6 of the 17 items to over 90 percent of the potential response. The outstanding exception is found in "joining teachers' union," an item wholly omitted by 21.7 percent of the 622 respondents. Assuming that teachers are conscious of, and will correctly report, the typical reactions of their communities, it is safe to assert that the mores governing the teacher's nonschool life are even more rigorous than at first suspected.³ At the same time, the mores are highly variable, as item analyses will show. For example, one-half the 622 cases reported community approval of a woman who marries but con-

² For example, see teacher autobiography in Lloyd A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Teaching*, New York, 1938, 296-300.

³ For effects of "mores coercion" on thought processes in the classroom, see Willard Waller, "Social Problems and the Mores," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1936, 1: 922-933.

TABLE 4. OPINIONS OF 622 TEACHERS ON PROBABLE COMMUNITY REACTION TO
TEACHER OUT-OF-SCHOOL BEHAVIOR

Teacher Behavior	Percent Reporting Reaction of				Percent Not Rpt.
	Approve	Tolerate	Disapprove	Discharge	
Dating a student	1.6	3.5	73.8 ¹	6.9	14.2
Dating a teacher	42.8	31.0	12.7 ¹	0.2	13.3
Dating a town person	60.0	23.0	5.1	0.2	11.7
Smoking in public	8.2	25.6	55.6 ³	4.0	6.6
Playing cards	33.6	35.2	23.5 ⁶	0.8	6.9
Playing pool or billiards	9.6	33.0	40.4 ⁶	1.9	15.1
Drinking alcoholic liquors	2.4	7.9	63.6 ²	19.3	6.8
Using rouge, lipstick, etc.	57.9	27.3	3.2	0.0	11.6
Leaving often week-ends	41.5	39.2	9.5 ¹	0.0	9.8
Owning automobile	82.5	7.7	1.6	0.0	8.2
Not attending church	7.9	44.0	36.3 ⁵	0.5	11.3
Woman teaching after marriage	51.5	21.2	8.0	8.7	10.6
Non-school work for pay	30.9	28.1	20.2 ⁷	1.0	19.8
Pay for coaching, speaking, etc.	35.2	32.6	15.8	0.0	16.4
Making political speech	10.6	19.6	52.1 ⁴	0.3	17.4
Running for political office	13.9	25.2	41.8 ⁵	1.0	18.1
Joining teacher union	50.0	18.6	9.2	0.5	21.7

tinues to teach. One-fifth reported toleration; 8 percent, disapproval; 8.7 "discharge teacher"; with 10.6 not checking the item. No behavior listed was marked as tolerated by over 44 percent of the sample, and many activities, such as playing cards, are denied a vast number of teachers. At least this is the teacher's view, and it is supported by a correlative survey of locality attitudes.⁴

While the disapproval column in the table speaks for itself, it is interesting to note the high percentages of respondents who voice community opposition to teachers dating students, drinking alcoholic liquors, smoking in public, and making political speeches. The column "discharge teacher" is more significant for what it does not reveal than *vice versa*. Whereas teachers are doubtful concerning conduct which leads to loss of position, school board members are not. They know local mores and, seemingly, are prepared to enforce them.⁵

4. General interpretation. While space precludes further discussion of

⁴ The foregoing types of behavior have been submitted to persons and classes in the teacher's community, such as school board members, housewives, farmers, professional persons, etc. In the main, these groups judge the teacher's out-of-school conduct more severely than do teachers themselves, though variations and exceptions are evident.

⁵ After ten years as director of teacher placement bureaus, Bossing writes: "It is no exaggeration to say that 50 percent of teacher failures find their direct cause in social maladjustment to the community," Nelson Bossing, *Progressive Methods Of Teaching in Secondary Schools*, 1937, chap. 2, "The Teacher." See also Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?*, on "Teacher Tenure," "Teachers' Contracts," and "Teachers' Oaths"; see Natl. Educ. Assn. Repts., 1937.

survey findings, the general frame of reference in which such data find ready interpretation may be indicated.⁶ We are dealing with the sociology of the stranger as delineated by Simmel, Park and Burgess, and others. The stranger is a potential wanderer; he has gone so far but has not outgrown the habit of going. As a personality type, he is restless and mobile. Reared in a different culture or at least exposed to it, he is the carrier of new ideas and action patterns. Being *in* but not *of* the locality group, his marginal status makes for objectivity and detachment. He is at once the recipient of confidences, the repository of fears and frictions, and the initiator of basic changes.

Coming from the anonymity of the campus, young teachers are puzzled by the inordinate attention paid to them by the community. They complain of high visibility, lack of privacy, and difficulty in "living their own lives" as other professional persons are able to do. Since they do not clearly understand their role and status in small-town community life, they cannot account for the process which their presence sets going. This is the familiar sequence of stages by which outgroup members are assimilated into the community. Area dwellers cannot take the teacher's assimilation for granted because too much is at stake. For one thing, the educator touches local life at its most sensitive point, its children. If traditional forms and norms of conduct are to survive at all, they must do so via the children. Hence the interest, particularly of elders, in the newcomer. He or she may be "a god in disguise," a proper guide for the young, or "a devil," a corrupter of youth in countless ways.

A first step in assimilating the teacher is to define him as a person. This is done by categorizing him in terms of the external signs long associated with the teacher stereotype—physical features, mode of dress, manner of speech, habits of living, etc.⁷ A next step is to infer his inner nature and intentions. Is he related to a family in the neighborhood? Were his parents regular church-goers? Does he like to hunt or fish, play baseball or read "good" books? Will he visit this home, join that club, accept this gesture of hospitality? By one means or another, which on identification lose much of their subtlety and their sting, the stranger is fitted into an ideology which the community knows and approves.

Further steps in the assimilative process do not require outlining. By deferential treatment, the teacher is made to know that he is different from the mine-run of persons; he occupies a position of public confidence and trust. What he does in and out of school and for all his waking hours, affects the welfare of others, the school, the children, community, state,

⁶ For case materials and interpretation, see Willard Waller, *The Sociology Of Teaching*, 1932; Lloyd A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds Of Education*, New York, 1938.

⁷ For an inductive study of the stereotype, see K. H. McGill, "The School Teacher Stereotype," *J. Educ. Sociol.*, 1931, 4: 642-650.

and nation. A form of social pressure not well studied is the control of the teacher by a manipulation of the child symbol. In ways known only to the initiate, the "perfesser" is made to feel that he is the model of all youth, their mental guide and moral guardian. They hang on his words; they imitate his dress and mannerisms; they pattern on his every act. He must, therefore, be of the finest clay, a little more idealistic, respectable, and conservative than so-called "best people." In sum, what the teacher believed was an occupation has been redefined for him as a mode of life.

From time immemorial, locality groups have sought to assimilate the stranger in this fashion. Success depends upon the nature of the newcomer and of the area. If the teacher differs sharply from local residents, his participation in community life will be almost impossible. School boards know this and hence their rulings against variant applicants, such as recent immigrant stocks, Jews, communists, pacifists, Catholics or Protestants, etc. One hastens to add that this principle is of limited applicability. It scarcely explains the fact that young persons, with foreign sounding names, will be interviewed and declined until they change their names and then be accepted without question.

Should the teacher not respond to friendly pressures, the community not unnaturally resorts to other controls. It may criticize the individual as incompetent in the classroom, circulate gossip to the effect that he is immoral, and otherwise make life irksome and unsatisfying. As a last resort, the most binding of all local ties, the "covenant bond" of the primitive tribe may be severed. The teacher is told that everybody would be happier if he left. Some teachers are glad to leave, but, unfortunately, they cannot leave behind them the record of "failure." It trails them for years to come and cannot readily be explained away.

One item in the preceding survey is of interest in this connection. When asked to indicate their personal reaction to the conduct codes imposed upon them, 64 percent of the teachers affirmed an habitual acceptance of the codes. This is perhaps our most valid index of the teacher's assimilation into the community. It accounts in part for Beale's observation that teachers are not only *not* free but that they are unaware of a problem of freedom. Only 5.6 percent of the sample asserted an habitual evasion of community conduct codes, 13.5 percent sought "to educate the community to greater tolerance," and the remainder specified miscellaneous reaction patterns.

5. *Expanding the area of freedom.* Among the many proposals for expanding the teacher's area of freedom in classroom and community, unionization has been advanced with much emphasis. In spite of a vast propaganda concerning its benefits, the nation's million and a quarter teachers are not a well organized body either as a pressure group or a professional association. Only 10.3 percent of our sample claimed membership in the

American Federation of Teachers, less than 3 percent in the Progressive Education Association, 31.7 percent in the National Education Association, 67.9 percent in local teachers' associations, and 84 percent in state teachers' associations. Since membership in the latter three bodies is usually either obligatory or stimulated by pressure, these percentages may be readily misinterpreted.

Another proposal is that teachers be more thoroughly trained in the social studies. Implicit in this aim is the idea that educators who have the facts, or know where to find the facts, will be better prepared to deal with current social issues. While there is no denying that impressive changes have occurred in teacher education over the past two decades, teachers in service are still decidedly ignorant of, and conservative toward, contemporary socio-economic problems.⁸ Teachers in training fare much better, yet the present situation is none too encouraging. For example, in a study of 1000 prospective teachers selected in proportion to total graduates from 24 representative colleges and universities, Rugg found that 17.7 percent of all work taken in high school and 12 per cent of all work taken in college was devoted to history, political science, economics, and sociology.⁹ Exactly 8 of the 1000 teachers in training studied sociology in high school and courses in the field amount to .5 percent of all work taken. In college, 51 of the 1000 studied sociology and work taken totalled 2.3 percent of all work done.

Boswell explains Johnson's failure as a teacher on the grounds, not only that teaching does not require high intellectual abilities, but that the possession of such faculties unfits a person for teaching. If this is the case, conditions are perhaps as they should be. If the truth lies elsewhere, the moral is plain for those who think that teachers are entitled to a more adequate training in the social sciences.

In summary, this paper has reported certain aspects of a comprehensive teacher and community survey. Teacher mobility has been measured in terms of distances between various positions, with the major finding that while teachers move often they do not tend to move far. The nature and extent of teacher participation in community activities, and their opinion of probable community reaction to certain types of teacher out-of-school behavior, were indicated, and the whole interpreted by reference to the process of assimilating the stranger. The plan at present is to refine the survey instrument, broaden its scope, and continue the study until a national sample is obtained.

⁸ The best evidence is found in the national survey by the John Dewey Society. See William H. Kilpatrick (editor), *The Teacher and Society*, 1937, chap. 8, "Social Attitudes and Information of American Teachers."

⁹ Earle U. Rugg, et al., *Teacher Education Curriculum*, 99, 204. National Survey of Education, U. S. Off. of Educ., Bull. 1933, vol. 3, no. 10, Washington, D. C., 1935.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MEASURABLE ATTITUDES

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

THE TERM "attitude" came into fashion early in the last decade as a replacement for the discarded term "instinct." The change in terminology reflected a revolution in socio-psychological thought. Like the term "instinct," the term "attitude" referred to the neurological patterns which predispose an individual to adjust to a given kind of situation in a given way. Unlike instincts, however, attitudes were recognized as experiential and, therefore, as social in origin.

Originally, attitudes were imputed; that is, if a man kicked a barking dog, his behavior in this situation was described as expressive of a kick-barking-dogs attitude. Such descriptive use of the term by Floyd Allport in 1924¹ and the more systematic use of it by L. L. Bernard in 1926² firmly established it in the vocabulary of the social sciences.

Presumably in an effort to ascertain attitudes before they became operative and, thus, to secure data upon which prediction of future behavior could be made, resort was made to the so-called attitudinal questionnaire. During the past ten or twelve years, the psychological and sociological literature has been saturated with the results of such questionnaires. Now that the trick of asking a man what he thinks of communism, religion, Negroes, Packards, political candidates, and so on *ad nauseum*, has been taken up by journalists and radio broadcasters, such questionnaires will probably go out of style among academicians. There is, however, a potential scientific value in the so-called attitudinal questionnaire; and this device should be salvaged for use in the solution of actual sociological problems.

With few exceptions, the term "attitude" as it is now used actually refers to a questionnaire response, which for convenience will be designated herein as a "measured attitude." With few exceptions, also, those who use the term "attitude" continue to think of attitudes as descriptions of the neurological patterns which predispose an individual to adjust to a given kind of situation in a given way. In all such usage there is the implicit assumption that the response given to a printed or oral question reveals the attitude which would become operative in a situation of the kind referred to in that question. But does it?

As a correction to the early behavioristic point of view, it is now recognized that in responding to any stimulus the whole of the organism rather than a single conditioned-response mechanism is involved. Even so, it does

¹ *Social Psychology*, chap. 13, New York, 1924.

² *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, chaps. 16 and 27, New York, 1926. R. M. MacIver has more recently used the term in a like manner, *vid. Society*, chap. 2, New York, 1937.

not follow that one aspect of such response is a certain index to the character of the other aspects of that response. Whatever one's psychological allegiance, it is still possible conceptually to divide the totality of human behavior into four phases or levels: (1) overt-symbolic, which includes the acts of speaking, writing, and gesturing; (2) overt-nonsymbolic, which includes such directly significant acts as driving a car and closing a door; (3) covert-symbolic, or what is commonly designated as thought; (4) covert-nonsymbolic, or what is usually described as feeling-states and emotions.

It is apparent that overt behavior, whether symbolic or nonsymbolic, is subject to measurement. So far, however, no means have been discovered whereby covert behavior, either symbolic or nonsymbolic, can be measured. The sick man may try to symbolize overtly his pains, the poet may try to describe an emotional tone, the philosopher may try to analyze his thought processes, and the psychogalvanometer may reveal changes in a criminal's feeling-states, but what any person is actually feeling and actually thinking cannot be measured and is still anybody's guess.

The present writer is inclined to guess that there are no necessary correlations among these four levels of behavior. Perhaps this statement is an unwarranted generalization from introspective study of his own behavior. Possibly he is not capable of analyzing his own behavior. Possibly his analysis is accurate, but he is a unique piece of organic machinery. At any event, he believes that he frequently behaves in such opposed and unrelated ways as driving a car cautiously down the highway, feeling a sense of impatience with his rate of progress, at the same time calculating how to rid himself of a boring companion and yet chatting gaily with him. There may be some paralleling between some elements of these four phases of behavior, but the predominant attribute of each may have nothing in common with the predominant attribute of any one or all of the others.

If it is true that there are no necessary correlations among the four levels of human behavior, it follows that a measured attitude—overt-symbolic behavior—may have no relation to the overt-nonsymbolic, covert-symbolic, and covert-nonsymbolic behaviors in regard to the same situation. Nevertheless, such a relationship is assumed in current interpretation of measured attitudes.

Logical criticism of current interpretation does not end here. What kind of situation does the so-called attitudinal questionnaire present? Obviously, a symbolized situation. The measured attitude is, thus, not even an overt-symbolic response to an actual situation; it is only an overt-symbolic response to symbols which represent a situation. No scientific studies are needed, although some are available, to show that overt-symbolic response to a symbol may be quite different from overt-symbolic response to the person or object which that symbol represents. The name "John Jones"

may provoke the disgusted response, "What? That blathering fool! Not a brain in his head"; whereas the person, John Jones, may arouse a smile, a warm handshake, and hearty laughter at his latest joke.

Few so-called attitudinal questionnaires, however, present even symbolizations of actual situations. Most present symbolizations of abstract situations. The question "What would you do if you met your friend Wang Chi, the Chinese, dressed in his best and beaming with good humor, on the corner of Sacramento Street and Grant Avenue, the day before New Year, when you were alone and in no hurry?" might constitute a symbolization of an actual situation. The question, typical of "attitudinal" questionnaires, "Do you consider that Chinese make good American citizens?" presents a vague symbolization of an exceedingly vague situational abstraction. What is a Chinese? What is an American citizen? What is good?

Long ago, L. L. Bernard cautioned against concluding that a symbolic response to a symbolized situation is an attitude in the original meaning of that term.³ As a symbolic response to a symbolized abstract situation, the measured attitude may have little in common even with the symbolic response to a symbolized situation. In one study, for example, it was found that 87 out of 89 banking officials, credit managers for large commercial enterprises, and country merchants replied, "Armenians are untrustworthy" to the question "Why is there general antagonism toward members of the Armenian colony in Fresno County, California?" Nevertheless, the records of the Fresno Merchant's Association revealed that, when rating specific individuals, these same men gave proportionately more Armenians a high credit standing than they gave to non-Armenians. In other words, Armenians in the abstract are dishonest; but the Armenians John Arkelian and Jacob Izmirian are remarkably honest fellows. To assume that a measured attitude is an accurate indication of an attitude in the original meaning of the term is, then, permitted neither by logic nor by such data as have been secured.

Elsewhere studies which seem to confirm the foregoing position have been reported in detail.⁴ In one of these studies an attempt was made to ascertain the relation between measured attitudes and observed behavior in actual situations. To this end, the operators of 256 hotels and restaurants scattered between New York and San Francisco were questionnaired concerning their willingness to accept Chinese as guests. Of these 256 establishments, 128 had previously been called upon to serve actual Chinese.

³ See the article "Attitudes, Social," *Ency. Soc. Sci.*, 2: 305-307. R. Bain, also, has expressed doubt as to the value of "attitudinal" questionnaires in "An Attitude on Attitude Research," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1928, 33: 940-957. It is possible that C. Kirkpatrick was expressing views similar to those herein expressed in his recent article "Assumptions and Methods in Attitude Measurements," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1936, 1: 75-88.

⁴ R. T. LaPiere, "Attitudes vs. Actions," *Social Forces*, 1934, 13: 230-237; R. T. LaPiere, "Type-Rationalizations of Group Antipathy," *Social Forces*, 1936, 15: 232-237.

In only one of the 128 had the Chinese been refused service. In all the others (and in 123 more which had been visited but which did not respond to the questionnaire) desk clerks, bell boys, waitresses, cashiers, etc., had accorded these Chinese the status of guest and in many instances that of favored guest. On an *a posteriori* basis, then, it should be reasonable to conclude that the professional attitude toward Chinese of such purveyors to the American public as the personnel of hotels and restaurants does not differ materially from their attitude toward native whites. To put it otherwise, on the basis of personal experience in traveling with personable Chinese, the present writer should feel no hesitancy in undertaking further travel with personable Chinese companions.

On the basis of questionnaire responses, however, it would appear that Chinese who travel in the United States have to sleep in public parks or flop houses and to eat out of paper bags. Of the 128 establishments which had been visited, only 1 revealed a measured attitude of unqualified willingness to receive Chinese as guests; 9 qualified their answers; whereas 118 revealed a measured attitude of a categorical refusal to accept Chinese. (A similar distribution of measured attitudes was secured from the 128 establishments which had not been visited.)

It does not, of course, follow from the foregoing study that actual and measured attitudes never have anything in common. A second study suggests in a general way that people may do or may have done what they say that they would do. In this study an attempt was made to correlate the measured attitudes of the non-Armenians of Fresno County, California, toward Armenians with the treatment which had actually been accorded the Armenian colony. To this end, a social-distance questionnaire concerning Armenians was given to 610 non-Armenians living in the county. In terms of measured attitudes, Armenians were unacceptable as members of the family to 92.5 percent of those questioned; unacceptable as members of church, club, and similar organizations to 84 percent; and unacceptable as neighbors to 72.4 percent.

From the actual treatment accorded Armenian immigrants and their children in Fresno County over the past fifty years, we should infer actual attitudes which are similar to the measured attitudes. Thus, although third-generation Armenians have reached maturity in Fresno County, few of them, either male or female, have married people of non-Armenian descent; case-history data indicate that the non-Armenian spouse of an Armenian is more or less completely ostracized by his or her own friends and relatives and that he or she has in most instances either joined the Armenian colony or moved out of the county. As much as forty years ago, Armenian Protestants were evicted from and were refused the right to worship in a non-Armenian church; today few Armenians would venture to apply for membership in a non-Armenian religious, business, or social

organization. That the non-Armenians have actually resented the prospect of accepting Armenians as neighbors is indicated in many ways: civil-damage suits have been brought against owners who sold residence property to Armenians; many land leases and land titles specifically prohibit sublease and resale to Armenians (and other "Orientals"); a study of residential land values in the city of Fresno over the past thirty-five years revealed three instances in which values declined following the encroachment of Armenian families.

These two studies are not, of course, quite comparable. In the first study—that of the Chinese—the measured attitudes and the imputed attitudes were secured from the same people; and the observed action preceded questionnaire response by not over six months. In the second study, present measured attitudes were compared with attitudes imputed on the basis of long-time community action; i.e., the behavior of the community over the years toward Armenians was compared with the measured attitudes of members of the community at the time the study was made.

Taking these two studies together, however, at least one conclusion concerning the relationship between measured attitudes and actual behavior seems permissible. It might be stated in the mode of the oracle, thus: Measured attitudes may or may not be indicative of preparations to respond in definite ways to specific situations.⁵ Accept this conclusion, and the measurement of attitudes as a means of predicting future behavior—other than future behavior in response to similar questionnaires—becomes scientific nonsense.

It would appear that knowledge of actual attitudinal sets, including the overt and the covert and the symbolic and the nonsymbolic aspects of these sets, must be a *posteriori* knowledge. It does not follow, however, that the so-called attitudinal questionnaire should be abandoned. The futility of its use has come from misinterpretation of what it measures and from consequent application of it to the wrong problem. There is a vital sociological problem to which it may be fruitfully applied. The prelude to such application must be a clear realization that the measured attitude is not of necessity and must not come to be by assumption an attitude in the original definition of this term.

A measured attitude has herein been described as an overt-symbolic response to a symbolization of an abstract situation. It is just this kind of behavior to which Marx applied the term "ideology" and which Pareto designated as "derivatives." The former term has come into current usage; and it is generally recognized that the nature and role of ideologies is a sociological problem of prime importance. What has not been realized is

⁵ The foregoing view was originally stated in R. T. LaPiere and P. R. Farnsworth, *Social Psychology*, chap. 10, New York, 1936. R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, 25-27 has since gone so far as to reject the idea that measured attitudes ever indicate actual attitudes.

that measured attitudes are actually specific ideological elements. It is, for example, the practice today to describe the arguments of an exponent of free trade as ideological. In terms, however, of the kind of behavior involved, there is no essential difference between what the man in the street says he would do should an Armenian wish to become his son-in-law and what the economist in the armchair says in defense of free trade. When the former puts his *X* in the column marked "would object," his behavior, like that of the economist who is toiling over a weighty monograph, is overt-symbolic; and in both instances the behavior is a response to an abstraction. No Armenian has asked to marry the man's daughter, and free trade is a hypothetical state rather than a social reality.

The response to any question of the would-you, do-you-believe, in-your-opinion-is, or why-is type is a specific ideology. It may or may not belong to an established ideological system. Responses to such questions as "Do you believe in God?" probably are; responses to such questions as "Do you consider the ownership of a Ford or a Packard more appropriate to the status of a college professor?" are probably isolated and individual ideological elements—or, as some would say, "rationalizations," but that measured attitudes are what have otherwise been designated as ideologies should be evident. It is greatly to be desired, therefore, that what have herein been designated as measured attitudes be termed, not attitudes, but ideologies.⁶

So far, the study of ideologies has been largely ideological. Men have expressed their opinions on the relationship between Roman Catholic ideology and the rise of capitalism, the significance of Puritanism as a determinant of American history, and so on. Whether the decadence of Roman Catholic ideology was a cause or a consequence of those changes in the socio-economic structure which we vaguely designate as the rise of capitalism, whether Calvinistic ideology speeded these changes or was fostered by them, whether, in fact, there were systems of verbal justification for systems of human relationship which may be described as Roman Catholic and as Calvinistic ideology, are all matters of personal opinion. The historical facts are few and are subject to variable interpretation. For example, the sources of data on the religious ideologies of the past are the writings of such atypical men as Aquinas, Calvin, and Cotton Mather. It is improbable that either the lord in his castle or the peasant in his hut were impressed in the least by the verbal meanderings of Aquinas. Certainly the ideologies of the former are not to be deduced from the writings

⁶ The term "ideologies" has been applied to measured attitudes by D. Katz, "Attitude Measurement as a Method in Social Psychology," *Social Forces*, 1937, 15: 479-482. Katz thinks, however, that the "attitudinal" questionnaire measures the "subjective side of man," meaning, we may suppose, the covert-nonsymbolic and the covert-symbolic aspects of behavior, and applies the term "ideologies" thereto. In so doing, he does violence both to fact and to the traditional meaning of the term "ideologies."

of the latter, but it was the behavior of the lord and the peasant which brought about profound changes in the social structure of western Europe. Since one cannot now ascertain the ideologies of the lord and the peasant, one certainly cannot ascertain the role of those ideologies in these significant social changes. Therefore historical study of ideologies is little more than ideology-building.

Contemporary study of current ideologies can, however, be objective. The questionnaire device can measure in a more accurate and specific way than has heretofore been possible what people *say* that they think, believe, would do, and will do and what they *say* is the *reason* they think, and so on, as they do. If, then, the questionnaire device is applied to the measurement of ideologies, a body of useful data on the nature of ideologies may be accumulated. Random application will not, however, help in the solution of the problem of the role of ideologies in society. Data on ideologies will be useful only when they are correlated with data on other and relevant social facts. The significance of ideologies in the maintenance and the change of a social system may then be determined.

Some of the so-called attitudinal studies which have been made under the tacit assumption that actual attitudes were being measured are, in fact, attempts to relate ideologies to observed behavior. Woolston, for example, has tried to correlate depression experiences and the acceptance of radical and the rejection of conservative economic ideologies.⁷

The following brief summary of a study also suggests the general results of such an approach. A questionnaire concerning the causes for the general antagonism towards Armenians in Fresno County was sent to non-Armenian residents. The 879 separate explanations which were secured were highly standardized. The most popular was that the Armenians are "dishonest, lying, and deceitful"; in supplementary interviews, bankers, credit men, and merchants were found almost invariably to give this as their explanation. The second explanation in point of popularity was that the Armenians lived parasitically on the community and accounted for the major burden of charity, both private and public; when questioned, directors of charitable institutions and of public relief and professional social workers supplemented this finding. The third explanation was that the Armenians were a cantankerous lot, always going to law with some grievance or other; the District Attorney and his staff, local judges and their staffs, and private lawyers heartily endorsed this interpretation.

These, then, are the three common ideologies by which the people of Fresno County explain their antagonism to the Armenians. An examination of the actual experiences of the people of the community with Armenians, however, shows the following facts: Over the years the Armenians

⁷ H. Woolston, "American Intellectuals and Social Reform," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 1936, 20: 303-311.

have as a group a better credit rating with the Fresno Merchant's Association than have non-Armenians. The records of the County Hospital and the County Welfare Bureau revealed on the average that the Armenian member of the community requires only 20 percent as much charity and relief as the non-Armenian member. An audit of civil and criminal court records indicated that the Armenian almost never gets involved in a criminal action and that he is considerably less likely to go to law or to be dragged into law in civil-court cases than is the non-Armenian. What the ideologies of the non-Armenians are related to, what has occasioned them, and to what extent they affect behavior toward Armenians cannot be deduced from this study. One point, however, has been disposed of: the ideologies have no direct relationship to past experience.

To some researchers, the proposed shift in terminology from attitudes to ideologies and in the application of the so-called attitudinal questionnaire to measurement of ideologies may appear much ado about nothing. To some researchers, science consists in measuring—measuring anything, any place, and any time. To others, however, science still consists in solving problems; and assembling data for the mere sake of assembling data still looks like the recreational activities of an academic dilettante.

THE ANGLO-SAXON MYTH IN THE UNITED STATES

FREDERICK G. DETWEILER

Denison University

IT IS STILL possible to hear the term, "Our Anglo-Saxon heritage," or "Anglo-Saxon civilization," or "the two great Anglo-Saxon nations with hands across the sea." Despite the Mexican-Spanish zone that reaches from Los Angeles to San Antonio and leaps over to Saint Augustine, despite the profound influence of the American Indian on our early development, the pioneering in the Mississippi valley and the northwest by French and French-Canadians, the ten percent contribution to the population made by Negro and mulatto, and all the weight of 39 million "Foreign white stock" in the country, there are still some who repeat the shibboleth and call us an Anglo-Saxon nation.

To those who merely want some convenient way of designating the English-speaking peoples on the two sides of the Atlantic, this inquiry may seem purely academic. It may seem academic also to Canadians who stem from the British Isles in contrast to the French-Canadians and the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Among these "Anglo-Saxon" citizens, there is a certain degree of alarm over the prospect of being outvoted in a generation or so by the other groups in the population, as Professor Hurd has shown.¹

As one can see in the Oxford Dictionary, it is difficult to attach a definitive meaning to the term Anglo-Saxon. In 885, Alfred the Great used it as meaning the "Saxons of England." It is best used today as roughly equivalent to the word English. By the present writer, the Scots and the Welsh are not included. The amount of intermingling with the Saxons on the part of the former is probably small and the latter are the present-day descendants of the people who were bitterly fought by Saxons and who have ever since maintained their own identity. They were called Welshmen in those old-English times (the word Welsh meaning foreigner) and regarded as a lower caste.

Welshman is virtually synonymous with Briton. The Britons were strongly Romanized when the Angles, Saxons and Jutes entered the island. There is a strong probability that a victory by the former over the latter on a certain Mount Badon is the historical kernel from which we get the stories of King Arthur. The medieval writer, Geoffrey of Monmouth, gave us the story of Jack, the Giant-killer, whose giants were mostly Welsh. Jack, who came from the Saxon side, is called an Englishman ("I smell the blood of an Englishman"). Possibly Saxon mothers said to their children,

¹ W. Burton Hurd, "Decline of the Anglo-Saxon Canadian," *Maclean's* (Toronto) Sept. 1, 1937.

"Stay away from the woods; there are wild Welshmen there." By this time, the descendants of the tribes who invaded England in the fifth century had become the respectable majority. They called themselves and their language, English.

Suppose now we ask the question, to what extent are the people of the United States English? Our first recourse may be the study made to determine the most recent immigration quotas, the study of "national origins." This was to answer the question, how many people in the United States of 1920 owed their descent to each nationality then represented in our population? The report² estimates that 41.4 per cent of our white population at that time owed its origin to England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. All the whites make up 87.1 per cent of the total population, and a little figuring shows that the national-origin estimate thus gives us a contribution from the four countries just mentioned equal to about 36 percent of the whole United States. It is difficult to tell just what subtraction from this figure should be made to account for the Scots and Welsh, since the statistics now lump together the whole population derived from Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The census of 1790, however, carefully worked over on the basis of distinctive surnames, would seem to allow a little less than one-fifth of the original Great-Britain-Northern-Ireland population to the Welsh and Scots (including the Scotch-Irish in the Scots.) The immigration of these two since 1820 has been considerably more than one-fifth. If, then, the Great-Britain-and-Northern-Ireland part of our population in 1920 was 36 percent of the whole, a conservative statement about the distinctly English contingent would be that less than one-third of our population is English. In terms of our subject, less than a third of our population (in 1920) could be called "Anglo-Saxon."³

It should be borne in mind that the statement just given represents careful estimates, possibly the best that could be made, but still, only estimates. In particular, the assignment of percentages of the 1790 population to the national stocks on the basis of a count of surnames found in the census reports should be regarded as tentative. We doubt, however, whether the results can be very far out of the way in spite of the further fact that each individual is classified as of the nationality of the father, although he might have three grandparents of different nationality and accordingly carry a quite different inheritance.

² *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1931, Washington, 1931, 107. Study was made under joint auspices of the Secretaries of State, Commerce and Labor.

³ The government study of the national origins was based first on United States, *A Century of Population Growth*, Washington, 1909, with corrections adopted from a study by the American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1931, Washington, 1932. The national origins study is briefly described in Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States*, New York, 1933.

The national origins report was not intended to state that a certain number of persons were to be attributed to the nationality in question but only that the number so reported was to be thought of as a numerical weight indicating the importance in the total population of that particular element. Thus, the white population in 1920 is taken as 94,821,000, and the part of it derived from Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 39,216,000. This does not mean that 39 million and more persons are definitely of British origin, but only that about 39/94ths of the nation taken as a whole, or better, that 39/94ths of our "blood" is British (including, of course, Scotch, Welsh and Northern Irish). Some of this "blood" is represented by many persons who have a mixed inheritance. In all the mixed ancestries, we must imagine probable degrees attributable to each of the national stocks. These part-inheritances and the whole-inheritances together add up to the figure, 39,216,000.

Our advocates of Anglo-Saxonism will, however, not be checked by refinements in the matter of racial names and origins. They will continue to speak of the Anglo-Saxon heritage and say that "democratic theories and forms of government" came from this people. The difficulty is that students of early English history are beginning to abandon this view. The Anglo-Saxon social system was certainly not very democratic, nor did it have more than a partially representative government. The freemen, of course, were present with voting powers in the hundred moot, but not the slaves nor other unfree persons. The Anglo-Saxon judicial system used the ordeal instead of the trial, had no jury in the later sense of the word, and punished crimes by *wergild*, in which sharp distinctions were made as to the values put upon certain classes of men. Authorities will agree that they owed their schools to the church and their church organization to Rome. The Archbishop of Canterbury late in the seventh century, was Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek. To him goes the credit for the reorganization of the English church, and to the church is given credit for binding the people into a nation. Of course, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were strong people in a certain sense of the word "strong." If they burned Roman villas and let the towns fall into decay, we can say they were in a passing stage of their infancy.⁴

What Americans really mean when they talk about Anglo-Saxon origins is the entire body of political, legal, and intellectual tradition brought here by our colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This tradition, however, was the product of a long development. Some of the material in it dates from before the Norman conquest, but more of it is the fruit of English history since that time.

For instance, Magna Charta, often regarded as a large step toward

⁴ See Henry J. Ford, "The Anglo-Saxon Myth," *The American Mercury*, Sept. 1924.

popular liberty, was wrung from a Plantagenet king by Norman-English barons under their leader, Simon de Montfort, an immigrant from France. The dignity connected with the English "yeoman" has been attributed by historians to the outstanding part he played in the Hundred Years' War and other national crises. The control of Parliament over the tax levies which was more and more firmly established from the time of Henry III to that of Cromwell and the struggle of the same body with the Stuarts in the seventeenth century culminating in the famous Bill of Rights of 1689, epochal as these were in the ancestry of American republican institutions, cannot by any stretch of terms be called Anglo-Saxon. The trend toward democracy in political, economic, and religious affairs was carried a great deal further in America than it was in the England of the eighteenth century. The history of Protestantism in England dating from Elizabethan time has meant as much for representative government and democratic tendencies here in America as any influences arising a thousand years earlier could have meant. To attempt a detailed analysis of the characteristics of a rich and varied culture like that of the English and to attribute certain traces of it to Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes, Normans, or those hypothetical Celts, gets us nowhere. On the other hand, it does mean something to show how the elements of a people's culture grew out of definite historical situations. Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights were devices hit upon in hours of need.

Those who may have thought that representative democracy is something we get from the Anglo-Saxons will do well to refer to the authorities listed in the footnote.⁵ Chadwick and Corbett both go into detail in describing the division of the inhabitants of early England after the Roman period into the gentry and the peasants, each group with its subdivisions. At the bottom of the pyramid were various levels of unfree persons, the slaves being the lowest. The various sorts of human beings were labeled differently in different parts of the island. No matter how they were labeled, each class had its own *wergild*; that is, it cost more to commit a crime against some men than it did against others. Other Germanic peoples had similar divisions and, of course, there have been caste systems, some more static than this, some less, in many parts of the world. Coker and Rodee say briefly that the theory of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon origins of representative government must be discarded. They refer to the growth of this type of political life as going on in recent centuries more or less concurrently in Spain, southern France (Languedoc), England, France, Hol-

⁵ H. M. Chadwick, "Anglo-Saxon Britain," in *Ency. Brit.*, 14th ed., 4: 165 ff; W. J. Corbett, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 2, chap. 17, Cambridge, 1913, also 3, chap. 14 and 16, 1922; F. W. Coker and C. C. Rodee, "Representation," in *Ency. Soc. Sci.*, 13: 310, New York, 1934; Rafail Altamira, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 6: 416, 417, 419, 1929; C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 5, chap. 5, 1929; Alfred M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, 201 ff, New York, 1925.

land, Sweden, Hungary. Professor Altamira shows us that serfs were freed in Spain at an earlier date than in other parts of Europe, and that a Spanish parliament (*Cortes*) admitted representatives of the middle class from the towns earlier in the middle ages than any other European nation did. Previt -Orton tells us how the Italian cities outdistanced others in the use of the forms of democracy. They had back of them the traditions of local self-government in the Roman towns (*coloniae, municipia*), and partly from the processes of trade and partly for other causes, presented, fairly early in the middle ages, striking examples of liberty and representation. The whole citizen body of Venice elected the Doge and approved war and peace. An Italian city would own land outside its walls and the citizens would meet together and allot it. The reader can see the abuses of the spirit of Italian independence in the brawls of Montagues and Capulets, its glories in St. Francis and Garibaldi. Tozzer tells us of the appointment and recall of their chiefs by the Iroquois, who had their assembly or council of braves, as other tribes did. This author also describes the assemblies of citizens and political parties of the Kabyles, a Berber tribe of North Africa reported some time ago by two French scholars. When to all these instances we add the history of the Greek cities, we begin to wonder why the Anglo-Saxons have been chosen as unique in this oft-played role. Possibly, after the Norman conquest, a feeling was born in England that the good old times were better than these. Possibly it was an inspiring thought to nineteenth-century writers in Britain and America that their people were carrying the torch of human destiny.

May men not love their country just as much when they find that the things they hold dear have been held dear also by widely separated and great nations? Might they not realize a sort of fundamental humanity and be happy to march in so interesting an army?

No account of Anglo-Saxonism would be complete without Hankins' very satisfying statement of the origin and development of this idea among the English and American people of the nineteenth century. Beside the writings of Gobineau, Lapouge, and Madison Grant, there were the more widely read books written in Great Britain by Kemble, Kingsley, Freeman, and particularly Seeley (*Expansion of England*). These lie back of the chauvinism that took Kipling as its mouthpiece ("What is the flag of England? Winds of the world declare!"). Americans who propagated the doctrine (as a defence against the immigration tide?) include H. B. Adams, John Fiske, and John W. Burgess. Hankins gives his attention to these and goes on to refute the Nordicism of Grant and his kind.⁶

It is hardly to be wondered at that R. H. Tawney said during an American visit that he heard more about Anglo-Saxons here during this brief

⁶ Frank H. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization; A Critique of the Nordic Doctrine*, chap. 7, New York, 1926.

visit than he had heard in all his years of residence at home. Similarly, G. K. Chesterton is quoted by Max Farrand as saying:⁷

"That sort of thing must be left to people who talk about the Anglo-Saxon race and extend the expression to America. How much of the blood of the Angles and Saxons is in our mixed British, Roman, German, Dane, Norman, and Picard stock is a matter only interesting to wild antiquarians. And how much of that diluted blood can possibly remain in the roaring whirlpool of America into which a cataract of Swedes, Jews, Germans, Irishmen, and Italians is perpetually pouring is a matter only interesting to lunatics."

Instead of Anglo-Saxon heritage then, we say English heritage. Have we stuck very close to it in America? Certainly we have tended to produce here some things that are different. Our forefathers understood that they were turning away from England and making a constitution which could be recognized as different from the English constitution. Very few present day Americans would care to be entirely like England. Of course the foundation upon which the nation was built was a substratum of English people. Probably three-fifths of all were English and Welsh.⁸ English people made New England and Virginia and most of the rest of the colonies. If the Dutch built New York; if Germans, Swedes, and French Huguenots contributed here and there, at least all these peoples were fairly Nordic and sufficiently like the English.

The pre-revolutionary white stock in America sometimes is thought of as consisting entirely of honest, intelligent, strong individuals who numbered among them very few of the socially handicapped or antisocial element. It is better to say that they were average people with the proportion of members of the "lower classes" that could be expected in times such as those. Beard thinks that "at least one-half the immigrants into America before the Revolution, certainly outside New England, were either indentured servants or Negro slaves." An indentured person was one who was sold for a period, possibly three or five years, to an employer. Sometimes the term was redemptioner, applied to a man who had been brought by some ship captain without paying his passage with the understanding that an employer would be found here who would pay the captain and indenture the passenger. As Fairchild says, "It was the practice of European nations at this time to empty not only their almshouses, but their jails, into their own colonies, or those of other nations. Thus many of the colonists, as well as many of the immigrants, belonged to the pauper and criminal classes." Channing tells us that many convicts arrived in

⁷ Max Farrand, "The Colonial Hyphen," *New Republic*, December 2, 1916, 116.

⁸ American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," *Ann. Rept. Amer. Hist. Assn.*, 1931, Washington, 1932.

Virginia in colonial days and were indentured. After all, why should not the landless and industrially dispossessed flock into a new world?⁹

Americans of today who pride themselves on an English ancestry that arrived here before the Revolution might be a bit shocked to look at the condition of the English people in that first half of the eighteenth century when so many "first families" came to America. The picture of society in the mother country as given us by the historians, for instance J. R. Green and Traill or particularly by J. B. Botsford in *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, would not be very reassuring to those who believe that a certain racial superiority can be discerned in the English people. The Georges sat through a rather decadent period. We can take refuge in the consideration that you cannot judge the racial qualities of a people by its manifestations in any particular generation, a consideration that should keep us from making snap judgments of immigrants in our own day.

Finally, those who wish to see in the English stock of Revolutionary times the torch bearers of political liberty must not be allowed to forget the Loyalist (Tory) part of the population and the role they played from 1775 to 1787. John Adams, we are told, thought that the Loyalist party comprised about a third of all the English people in America. Others would make the proportion still larger. Since these representatives of the monarchical idea and loving subjects of George III are not to be distinguished racially from all the other English, it becomes impossible to say—at least of the population of that period—that English "stock" had a distinctive affinity for liberal political ideas.

⁹ Charles A. and Mary A. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, New York, 1927, vol. 1, 103; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, New York, 1910, vol. 2, 82 and elsewhere; H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration*, New York, 1926, chap. 2.

INDICES OF ADEQUACY OF STATE CARE OF MENTAL PATIENTS

ELLEN WINSTON
Raleigh, North Carolina

AT THE PRESENT stage in the study of mental disease it is relevant to explore the possibilities in measuring provisions for state care of mental patients and in setting up indices of the adequacy of this care. The problem of institutional adequacy has been generally considered an individual one in each state. Statements of relative provisions for care expressed in quantitative terms give a reasonable basis, however, for comparisons among states.

Analysis of rates of mental disease is a decidedly complex problem. In studying such rates for the 48 states, one has to take into account the fact that provisions for the care of the mentally diseased vary so widely from state to state that social explanations of differences in rates of hospital admissions are not sufficient. It was thought feasible to explore the data available on capacity, personnel, and expenditures of state hospitals and to study them without regard to the characteristics of the patient population. The measures developed show to an important extent what each state has accomplished in these respects in comparison with other states.

The interrelated purposes of the present analysis may be summarized as follows:

1. To explore the feasibility of index numbers in analyzing the provisions within the various states for the care of the mentally diseased.
2. To measure the relative adequacy of state provisions for the mentally ill in terms of the total population.
3. To evaluate standards of personnel within state hospitals.
4. To measure relative expenditures for state hospital patients.
5. To utilize the measures of personnel and expenditures in analyzing recent changes in standards of care.

Relative Capacity of State Hospitals. The most obvious measure of a state's provisions for its mentally ill is the rated capacity of its institutions established for their care. Until recently few data have been available in general reports on the number of beds in state hospitals. Such data are now available and have been utilized for 1933.¹ From these figures it has been possible to compute the number of beds in terms of the general population to be served. Many states have provisions for a significant proportion of mental patients in public hospitals other than state hospitals or in private institutions. Large numbers of cases are cared for in some states

¹ The reason for selecting this year is explained later.

in county institutions and many others never receive care outside of their homes. With the general recognition of the mentally ill as a burden for which the state is responsible, however, the number of beds in state hospitals offers the soundest basis for comparative analysis of provisions for the mentally ill on a state-wide basis. Regardless of the actual incidence of mental disease, state hospital facilities are objective evidence of provisions for one type of care.

Since children are rarely the victims of mental diseases in such form as to call for institutional care, provisions in terms of the general population should be computed on the basis of the population 15 years of age and over. One of the fallacies in many of the studies of mental disease is that rates are computed on the basis of the entire population although the proportion of the population under 15 years of age, while varying considerably by states, is around 30 percent of the total for the United States as a whole. Hence rates computed on a general population basis are deceptively low and likewise provisions of beds would appear lower than is actually the case were this simple refinement of the data omitted.

From inspection of the data, it is obvious that state hospital provisions as of 1933 vary widely from state to state. New York with 534 beds per 100,000 population, 15 years of age and over, or Massachusetts with 563 beds may be compared with Arkansas with 145 beds per 100,000 or Wisconsin with less than 104 beds (Table 1). While New York has more than 500 beds per 100,000 population within the specified age limit, Pennsylvania has barely more than 200. Minnesota has more than four times as many beds proportionately as has Wisconsin. Although there are many exceptions, the more extensive provisions tend to be found in the more highly urbanized states of the north and east while the more limited provisions are reported most frequently in the southern states.

Care Afforded by State Hospitals. If states differ so greatly in terms of the proportion of the population they are prepared to hospitalize, how do they rank in terms of the care given those patients who are actually within institutions?

According to a recent study of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, "The ratios of physicians to patients . . . measure, perhaps more accurately than any other single factor, the diversity of standards under which hospitals operate in different states."²

Using the minimum standards set up by the American Psychiatric Association³ as a basis, three indices of personnel were developed. All insti-

² *State Hospitals in the Depression, A Survey of the Effects of the Economic Crisis on the Operation of Institutions for the Mentally Ill in the United States*, Natl. Com. for Mental Hygiene, New York City, 1934, 38.

³ "Standardization of Hospitals," Second Rept. of Com. on Standards and Policies, Amer. Psychiat. Assn., *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, 1924-1925, 4: 399-402.

tutions in a given state were considered together in order to derive a single figure for ranking purposes. While standards differ from institution to institution within a state, the average figure is probably as sound a basis as it is possible to obtain at present for characterizing state care as a whole.

TABLE I. CAPACITY OF STATE HOSPITALS, 1933, PER 100,000 OF THE GENERAL POPULATION, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1930

State	Capacity per 100,000 population, 15 years of age and over	State	Capacity per 100,000 population, 15 years of age and over
Massachusetts.....	563.0	Idaho.....	312.7
New Hampshire.....	558.2	South Dakota.....	309.7
New York.....	534.0	Indiana.....	305.8
Nevada.....	507.1	Utah.....	305.2
Oregon.....	492.5	Wyoming.....	286.2
Minnesota.....	472.6	Ohio.....	283.8
Maryland.....	461.9	Tennessee.....	277.2
Illinois.....	442.5	South Carolina.....	276.0
Connecticut.....	406.1	West Virginia.....	271.6
Delaware.....	401.9	Texas.....	268.4
Vermont.....	387.8	Kentucky.....	266.6
North Dakota.....	380.2	New Mexico.....	261.2
Nebraska.....	376.4	Michigan.....	259.1
Montana.....	357.2	Georgia.....	258.0
Virginia.....	348.9	Washington.....	254.2
Colorado.....	332.7	New Jersey.....	247.1
Maine.....	325.4	Arizona.....	239.6
Iowa.....	324.0	Alabama.....	232.0
California.....	321.2	Pennsylvania.....	209.0
Kansas.....	318.8	Mississippi.....	192.6
North Carolina.....	318.8	Missouri.....	190.3
Florida.....	317.5	Oklahoma.....	189.0
Louisiana.....	315.4	Arkansas.....	144.8
Rhode Island.....	312.8	Wisconsin.....	103.5

Sources: *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1933*, United States Bureau of the Census, Table 7, and *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Population, vol. 3, Part 1, Table 51.

The three standards used were as follows:

1. A nursing force of not less than one nurse or attendant for every eight patients. The average daily resident patient population was taken as preferable to the number in institutions as of a given date although the fluctuations in number of patients, except in a few cases due to opening or enlarging hospitals, were not sufficient to affect the general results.
2. A staff of physicians of not less than one physician to every 150 patients, again using the average daily resident patient population as the basis.
3. A staff of physicians of not less than one physician to every 40 patients admitted annually.

These three measures of personnel are applicable to all states regardless of the adequacy of care. As carefully developed minimum standards for personnel ratios, they form logical bases for the present type of measurement. Other standards set up by the American Psychiatric Association were not found to be practical for quantitative analysis, at least at the present time. For example, the standard expressed as "adequate provision for dental service" is indefinite and the number of dentists in hospitals for the mentally diseased in an entire state was usually one or two while several states did not report any. Also, the ratio of nurses to patients requiring intensive treatment or to surgical cases could not be utilized because of lack of such detailed data. The possibility was considered of setting up some arbitrary standard for all officers and employees other than physicians, nurses, and attendants but the categories were so varied including, as they do, dentists, pharmacists, occupational therapists, social workers, stewards, clerical employees, and a miscellaneous group, that the results would have no definitive value. The groups it would be most interesting and pertinent to study separately, such as occupational therapists and social workers, represent developments in hospital personnel that are not yet sufficiently general to afford a satisfactory basis for state comparisons over a period of years.

While it is not possible as a result of these omissions to measure personnel provisions completely, what would generally be regarded as the most important factors, namely the medical and nursing service, are covered. No matter what factors may differentially affect the hospitalization of mental patients from state to state, the direct relationship between physician or nurse and the patient is fundamental. Moreover, inspection of the data indicates that such provisions tend to be generally representative of provisions for the other types of hospital personnel. The data on care obviously cannot take account of qualitative factors. This would be important in comparing individual hospitals but can be disregarded for present purposes.

To supplement the three indices specified it was considered desirable to have a measure of each state's current and long-time investment for the care of the mentally diseased. Two indices were available which seemed to be pertinent for this purpose. The first of these was the annual per capita cost of maintenance, based on the average daily resident patient population, as reported in the surveys by the Bureau of the Census. For a base, \$312 was selected because it was the average for all state hospitals in the United States in 1929, a year when states generally were somewhat more liberal in their expenditures than they have been in more recent years. Thus, as in the case of personnel, a relatively high standard was utilized as the basis of the index. The range of the resulting series of index numbers justified its choice.

The second measure of expenditures selected was the value of hospital property, including real estate and personal property, in terms of the average daily resident patient population. The question of a logical base figure again had to be determined. Rorem stated in 1930 that in his opinion "a reasonable valuation which would represent the replacement value for the large nervous and mental hospital beds under state control is \$2,000 per bed."⁴ This figure appeared too high to apply to all state hospitals regardless of size or local, affecting conditions. In 1923 the average investment per patient for the United States was reported as \$1,093;⁵ in 1933 it was \$1,465.⁶ A relatively high standard, yet one which would not be out of reason, appeared to be \$1,500. Since the resulting series of index numbers was comparable with the other indices utilized, \$1,500 was retained as the base.

Both indices of expenditures perforce do not take into account differences in costs among states. As will be shown, however, the results obtained justify the use of these economic measures of adequacy when they are analyzed in relative rather than absolute terms. Comparisons are of course possible in terms of the actual figures also but reduction of the data to relatives makes these comparisons both clearer and easier to analyze.

The first complete census of patients in hospitals for mental disease in relatively recent years was taken as of January 1, 1923, and for the calendar year 1922. Data from this report therefore give a logical basis for the preliminary study of the indices of hospital personnel and expenditures. The figures on patient population are for the year 1922, those on hospital personnel and value of property for January 1, 1923, and those on maintenance usually for the fiscal year.

A more recent year was desirable for purposes of further analysis of the indices themselves and for comparison with the data from the January 1, 1923, enumeration. The annual census report of patients in state hospitals for mental disease in 1932 did not contain all of the data utilized for 1922. The report for 1933, however, had all of the necessary material.⁷ The 1933 census data concerning mental patients are generally for the calendar year 1933 although in a few instances reports are for the fiscal year of the insti-

⁴ Rufus C. Rorem, *The Public's Investment in Hospitals*, Chicago, 1930, 61.

⁵ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923*, United States Bureau of the Census, 1926, Table 123, p. 246.

⁶ *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1933*, United States Bureau of the Census, 1935, Tables 85 and 86, pp. 123-124.

⁷ Since 1933 was so near the bottom of the depression, data for 1935 were examined as a possible basis for a third series of index numbers. When the index of personnel for 1935 was compared with that for 1933, however, little change was found to have occurred during the two years in the range of the index numbers and the relative ranking of the States. Since the average per capita cost for all State hospitals had risen very slightly and since data on value of hospital property were not included in the report, automatically eliminating the index of expenditures, there seemed to be little justification for including any of the 1935 material.

tution. In most cases the data on nurses and physicians represent conditions at the close of the calendar year while the financial data usually cover the fiscal year. The divergences in dates are not considered to have an important effect on the results for either year studied.

In computing the indices based on personnel for the year 1922, it was found that states tended to have approximately the same rank on each index with few exceptions. Consequently each index was given the same weight in combining the three indices into a single index for the purpose of aligning and comparing states (Table 2).

TABLE 2. INDEX OF PERSONNEL¹ IN STATE HOSPITALS,² 1922

State	Index of Personnel	State	Index of Personnel
Nevada.....	123.9	Maryland.....	62.0
Massachusetts.....	89.7	Michigan.....	59.8
New Hampshire.....	85.7	Louisiana.....	57.6
Wisconsin.....	83.6	Illinois.....	57.0
Nebraska.....	82.2	Iowa.....	56.9
Rhode Island.....	80.9	Missouri.....	55.2
Vermont.....	80.3	Minnesota.....	54.9
Indiana.....	79.3	Wyoming.....	54.8
Delaware.....	75.3	South Carolina.....	54.2
Georgia.....	74.9	Oklahoma.....	53.5
Maine.....	74.3	Ohio.....	53.4
Arizona.....	74.3	Alabama.....	51.9
Pennsylvania.....	74.0	Texas.....	51.0
New Jersey.....	73.9	Oregon.....	50.7
Connecticut.....	73.0	Mississippi.....	50.1
New York.....	72.2	West Virginia.....	49.4
South Dakota ³	71.0	Arkansas.....	48.7
Tennessee.....	67.5	Colorado.....	48.4
New Mexico.....	67.3	Idaho.....	46.4
North Carolina.....	66.8	Kentucky.....	46.0
California.....	65.9	Utah.....	45.7
North Dakota.....	63.8	Virginia.....	45.3
Kansas.....	63.2	Washington.....	44.8
Florida.....	62.7		

¹ From combination of three indices: (1) nurses and attendants per average daily resident patient population, 125 nurses and attendants per 1,000 patients=100; (2) physicians per average daily resident patient population, 6.667 physicians per 1,000 patients=100; and physicians per annual admissions, 25 physicians per 1,000 admissions=100.

² Data not available for Montana.

³ Due to the wide variation between average daily resident patient population and the patient population on January 1, 1923, for South Dakota, the latter figure was utilized.

Source: *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, United States Bureau of the Census, Tables 64, 122, and 124. Data were available for 152 hospitals, exclusive of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

Cases in which any one of the three basic indices was greater than 100 were the exception as few states attained any one of the standards set up for mental hospitals. In fact when a state approached 125 nurses or attend-

ants per 1,000 resident patients, or $6\frac{2}{3}$ physicians per 1,000 resident patients, or 25 physicians per 1,000 admissions, the question of special conditions immediately raised itself.

The states were ranged in rank order on the basis of the combined index (Table 2). Nevada topped all the rest by a considerable margin due to her small hospital population, two physicians and an average daily patient population of 217 being reported. Massachusetts ranked second with a index of 89.7 which indicates relatively close approximation to the standards set up by the American Psychiatric Association. In general the north-eastern states ranked well up the scale while the lowest indices were recorded for southern and western states.

The next step was the computation of the financial data (Table 3). Empirically, an average of the two indices appeared sounder than the use

TABLE 3. INDEX OF EXPENDITURES¹ OF STATE HOSPITALS, 1922²

State	Index of Expenditures	State	Index of Expenditures
North Carolina.....	136	Michigan.....	79
Wisconsin.....	122	South Carolina.....	77
Maine.....	120	Utah.....	77
North Dakota.....	108	Florida.....	76
Delaware.....	107	Minnesota.....	75
New Jersey.....	106	California.....	75
Massachusetts.....	96	Oklahoma.....	74
Pennsylvania.....	94	Ohio.....	72
Arizona.....	94	Missouri.....	72
Rhode Island.....	92	Nebraska.....	70
Indiana.....	92	Oregon.....	70
Nevada.....	91	Illinois.....	68
New Mexico.....	90	Tennessee.....	67
Kansas.....	89	Idaho.....	67
Wyoming.....	89	Alabama.....	62
Connecticut.....	88	Washington.....	62
New York.....	88	Texas.....	60
South Dakota ³	88	Arkansas.....	58
Vermont.....	85	Kentucky.....	57
West Virginia.....	84	Colorado.....	57
Iowa.....	83	Georgia.....	55
Maryland.....	83	Mississippi.....	55
Louisiana.....	83	Virginia.....	53
New Hampshire.....	82		

¹ From combination of two indices: (1) per capita cost of maintenance, \$312=100; and (2) per capita value of hospital property in terms of average daily resident population, \$1,500 per patient=100.

² Data not available for Montana.

³ Due to the wide variation between average daily resident patient population and the patient population on January 1, 1923, for South Dakota, the latter figure was utilized.

Source: *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1923*, United States Bureau of the Census, Tables 123 and 124. Data were available for 152 hospitals, exclusive of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

of either one separately. Here again, special situations affected the top of the range. North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Maine had indices of 120 or above due to the high valuation of one hospital in each state in terms of the patient population and in the two latter states to high per capita expenditures for maintenance as well. Thereafter the states ran in fairly regular order.

In checking the ranking of states on the combined index of personnel and the combined index of expenditures, the relationship was found to be relatively close. Only 4 of the states in the highest 12 on the index of personnel were not in this quartile on the index of expenditures. At the other end of the scale, 9 of the states in the lowest 12 of the index of personnel occupied the same relative position with regard to the index of expenditures.

As a further step the indices of personnel and of expenditures were combined to give an index of care, each of the five basic indices being given the same weight (Table 4). Any system of differential weighting would have

TABLE 4. COMBINED INDEX OF CARE¹ OF STATE HOSPITALS, 1922

State	Index of Care	State	Index of Care
Nevada.....	110.7	Louisiana.....	67.6
Wisconsin.....	98.8	Iowa.....	67.4
North Carolina.....	94.5	Michigan.....	67.3
Maine.....	92.4	Tennessee.....	67.1
Massachusetts.....	92.2	Georgia.....	66.9
Delaware.....	87.8	South Carolina.....	63.3
New Jersey.....	86.7	West Virginia.....	63.2
Rhode Island.....	85.1	Minnesota.....	62.9
Indiana.....	84.2	Missouri.....	61.7
New Hampshire.....	84.0	Oklahoma.....	61.5
Vermont.....	82.2	Illinois.....	61.2
Arizona.....	82.0	Ohio.....	60.8
Pennsylvania.....	81.8	Oregon.....	58.4
North Dakota.....	81.3	Utah.....	58.2
Connecticut.....	79.2	Alabama.....	55.9
New York.....	78.5	Idaho.....	54.6
South Dakota.....	77.8	Texas.....	54.4
Nebraska.....	77.1	Arkansas.....	52.4
New Mexico.....	76.2	Mississippi.....	52.0
Kansas.....	73.3	Washington.....	51.7
Maryland.....	70.4	Colorado.....	51.6
California.....	69.4	Kentucky.....	50.4
Wyoming.....	68.3	Virginia.....	48.4
Florida.....	67.8		

¹ For description of indices used, see Tables 2 and 3.

involved an evaluation of the relative importance of each index on a purely empirical basis. Since the indices of personnel and of expenditures had already been found fairly consistent, the average based on equal weights appeared to be amply justified.

In order both to show more recent conditions and to afford a basis for measuring changes that have taken place in state hospital provisions, the same procedure was followed for the 1933 data as for those of 1922. During the intervening years state hospitals had in their turn felt the impingement of depression factors, following a period of expansion. In most states there had been marked increases both in the patient population and in personnel. While the top index of personnel in 1933 was approximately the same as in

TABLE 5. INDEX OF PERSONNEL¹ IN STATE HOSPITALS, 1933

State	Index of Personnel	State	Index of Personnel
Delaware.....	123.2	Arizona.....	59.7
New Jersey.....	100.5	Tennessee.....	59.2
New Hampshire.....	100.0	California.....	58.7
Massachusetts.....	92.4	West Virginia.....	57.8
Rhode Island.....	90.2	New Mexico.....	56.1
Nebraska.....	88.3	Ohio.....	55.7
Maine.....	84.7	Missouri.....	54.5
New York.....	82.9	South Dakota.....	53.2
Utah.....	82.6	Oregon.....	53.0
Vermont.....	80.2	Georgia.....	52.3
Connecticut.....	80.2	Alabama.....	49.5
Kansas.....	79.3	Washington.....	49.5
Pennsylvania.....	78.7	Iowa.....	48.2
Maryland.....	78.7	Nevada.....	47.4
Michigan.....	74.8	Minnesota.....	47.1
North Dakota.....	71.7	Florida.....	44.1
Louisiana.....	70.4	Virginia.....	43.6
Wisconsin.....	68.7	Oklahoma.....	41.9
Colorado.....	68.5	Idaho.....	41.0
Wyoming.....	68.2	North Carolina.....	40.5
South Carolina.....	66.8	Montana.....	36.7
Indiana.....	66.4	Kentucky.....	33.6
Texas.....	62.7	Arkansas.....	30.3
Illinois.....	62.4	Mississippi.....	30.0

¹ From combination of three indices: (1) nurses and attendants per average daily resident patient population, 125 nurses and attendants per 1,000 patients=100; (2) physicians per average daily resident patient population, 6.667 physicians per 1,000 patients=100; and (3) physicians per annual admissions, 25 physicians per 1,000 admissions=100.

Source: *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1933*, United States Bureau of the Census, Tables 5 and 83. Data were available for 168 hospitals, exclusive of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

1922, 123 as compared with 124, more states had fairly high indices in 1933 (Table 5). On the other hand, personnel indices ranged lower in 1933 than in the preceding survey year. From a low of 45 the scale had dropped to 30. Nine states had lower indices of personnel in 1933 than the lowest index in 1922. During the intervening period 25 states had raised their standards, one state (Vermont) had remained unchanged, while the remaining states had lowered their standards of personnel as measured by the combined in-

dex.⁸ Not only had these changes taken place but there had been considerable shifting of states with respect to rank order. Only 7 of the states in the highest 12 in 1922 had retained their places in 1933, all but one registering a rise in provisions for care. Only 5 states in the lowest 12 in 1922 were still in that relative position in 1933, each of course having registered a decline.

When the indices of expenditures for 1922 and 1933 were compared, the effects of depression reductions in expenditures for maintenance were im-

TABLE 6. INDEX OF EXPENDITURES¹ OF STATE HOSPITALS, 1933

State	Index of Expenditures	State	Index of Expenditures
Delaware.....	159	Iowa.....	71
New Jersey.....	146	Indiana.....	70
New York.....	133	Missouri.....	70
Wisconsin.....	133	Montana.....	69
Pennsylvania.....	122	Minnesota.....	65
Nevada.....	121	Louisiana.....	65
Michigan.....	119	South Carolina.....	64
Connecticut.....	112	Oklahoma.....	63
New Hampshire.....	110	Colorado.....	62
Maine.....	103	Oregon.....	62
Massachusetts.....	100	Washington.....	60
Vermont.....	92	Ohio.....	59
Rhode Island.....	92	West Virginia.....	59
North Dakota.....	91	Tennessee.....	58
Utah.....	89	Idaho.....	57
Maryland.....	88	Texas.....	56
Wyoming.....	87	Arizona.....	56
South Dakota.....	80	Virginia.....	54
North Carolina.....	80	Mississippi.....	51
Nebraska.....	73	Florida.....	50
New Mexico.....	73	Georgia.....	45
California.....	73	Alabama.....	40
Illinois.....	72	Arkansas.....	40
Kansas.....	72	Kentucky.....	33

¹ From combination of two indices: (1) per capita cost of maintenance, \$312=100; and (2) per capita value of hospital property in terms of average daily resident population, \$1,500 per patient=100.

Source: *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease: 1933*, United States Bureau of the Census, Tables 83, 85, and 86. Data were available for 166 hospitals, exclusive of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

mediately obvious. The lowest index in 1922 was 53 in Virginia but in 1933, 6 states had indices of less than 53 (Table 6). On the other hand, the index of expenditures was 100 or above in 11 states in comparison with only 6 states in 1922. Sixteen states had a higher index in 1933 than in 1922.

Such marked shifts are evidence of the important changes which have

⁸ Comparable data were not available for Montana for 1922.

been occurring in state hospital provisions at the same time that the patient population has been increasing. They reveal the differential results of the efforts of the various states to deal with the problem of mental disease.

A combined index of care was also developed for 1933 (Table 7). It reflected the changes which had taken place in state provisions by 1933 as

TABLE 7. COMBINED INDEX OF CARE¹ OF STATE HOSPITALS, 1933

State	Index of Care	State	Index of Care
Delaware.....	137.5	California.....	64.4
New Jersey.....	118.7	South Dakota.....	63.7
New Hampshire.....	104.0	New Mexico.....	62.9
New York.....	103.0	Missouri.....	60.7
Pennsylvania.....	95.8	Texas.....	59.8
Massachusetts.....	95.2	Tennessee.....	58.5
Wisconsin.....	94.4	West Virginia.....	58.1
Connecticut.....	92.9	Arizona.....	58.0
Michigan.....	92.5	Iowa.....	57.1
Maine.....	92.0	Ohio.....	57.0
Rhode Island.....	90.7	Oregon.....	56.6
Utah.....	85.0	North Carolina.....	56.1
Vermont.....	84.7	Minnesota.....	54.3
Maryland.....	82.4	Washington.....	53.5
Nebraska.....	82.2	Mississippi.....	50.4
North Dakota.....	79.2	Oklahoma.....	50.3
Nevada.....	76.8	Montana.....	49.4
Kansas.....	76.2	Georgia.....	49.2
Wyoming.....	75.5	Virginia.....	47.5
Louisiana.....	68.0	Florida.....	46.5
Indiana.....	67.8	Alabama.....	45.5
Illinois.....	66.2	Idaho.....	43.2
Colorado.....	65.7	Arkansas.....	34.0
South Carolina.....	65.5	Kentucky.....	33.2

¹ For description of indices used, see Tables 5 and 6.

compared with 1922 which the indices of personnel and of expenditures showed more specifically. It is interesting to note that 2 of the 3 highest ranking states in 1922—Nevada and North Carolina—had had the greatest decreases by 1933, each of them declining more than 30 points. The shift in Nevada was largely due to the increase in patients and the retention of only one resident physician. In North Carolina all indices declined markedly as personnel and expenditures were not expanded in proportion to the increase in patients.

In contrast the 4 states which had the highest indices in 1933—Delaware, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and New York—had made tremendous strides in the care of mental patients since 1922 as measured by the index. Each had advanced at least 20 points during the period covered. Only 2 other states—Michigan and Utah—had made comparable advances and both of these ranked in the upper 12 states.

The index of care for 1933 was studied in relation to the capacity of state hospitals per 100,000 of the general population, 15 years of age and over (Tables 1 and 7), to see if states that ranked high on the one would be well up the scale on the other. This was found to be true to only a limited extent. Due to the complex of factors involved in the observed variations between them, the two series were not combined as the resultant index would have had little logical justification. Because a state is prepared to care for a large number of mental patients in state hospitals in proportion to the general population, it does not necessarily follow that the state will have a high ratio of personnel to patients or rank high on expenditures. Both measures are useful and as such are complementary to each other.

Conclusions

The methods described of rating state hospital provisions and care are tentative. They constitute an exploratory approach to an objective alignment of the states and will serve as a point of departure for further studies which ultimately should be of use in determining to what extent provisions for care actually are related to differential rates of first admissions to state hospitals. The states rank about as would be expected on the basis of general knowledge concerning differential hospital care and other social factors. This fact together with the consistency found between the indices of personnel and of expenditures attests to their reliability. The indices used appear to have a logical basis for inclusion. Moreover, the data utilized were secured under uniform conditions, the schedules being filled in the 1922 survey by persons employed in the various institutions and in the 1933 survey by officials and employees of the hospitals or by the state departments in charge of the hospitals. The data cover all state hospitals, and combining all institutions within a given state results in a large enough number of patients to give relative stability to the results.

So far as individual states are concerned, the indices must be interpreted directly in terms of the data from which they are constructed. It is from knowledge of individual situations that one can determine to what extent a state is caring for its mentally diseased in state hospitals and the bearing this may have on the type of care afforded such institutionalized mental cases.

From the purely statistical standpoint, a great deal of further manipulation of the data is possible. How far to go in such a case is largely a matter of the investigator's judgment. In the present case it was felt that the relative rather than the absolute values of the measures utilized could not be overemphasized and that they should be tested in a succeeding study for their value in explaining differential rates of first admissions before being carried further.

The technique applied to ranking states on the basis of provisions for and care of mental patients is applicable to state institutional care of other

types of mental or physical disability. So far, in spite of their varied possibilities, there have been few attempts to use index numbers in analyzing institutional care. Moreover, while interested in changes in time, analysis on a geographical basis is also fruitful. The problems are quite different from those in the economic fields in which index numbers are normally used, and it is doubtful if more than proximate exactness is possible. Since they do offer an objective basis for comparing the various states and for evaluating changes within a given state over a period of time, however, an extension of their use would be profitable.

While the primary objective of the present paper has been to explore the applicability of index numbers to institutional care on a state-wide basis, the test of the usefulness of the techniques is the information they reveal with respect to the problem under consideration. The more important findings may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Marked inequalities in care of mental patients, as measured by the data on personnel and maintenance, exist from state to state.
2. Although there are important exceptions, in general the northeastern states tend to furnish the most adequate provisions for hospital care of mental patients.
3. The indices are useful in measuring change as they show not only significant changes in state hospital provisions in individual states over the period covered but also important variations in the rank of the different states.
4. A relatively important relationship exists between a state's rank on the index of personnel and on the index of expenditures, that is, states that rank high on the one tend to rank high on the other.
5. The variations in the capacity of state hospitals as measured in terms of the population are tremendous and indicate the inadequacy of provisions in many states.

DEMOGRAPHY OF URBAN PSYCHOTICS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SCHIZOPHRENIA

R. E. L. FARIS
Brown University

THIS PAPER is concerned with the make-up of the urban population in mental hospitals: What kinds of persons the patients are, what types of urban areas they come from, and what kinds of social life characterize those areas. Special attention is paid to social isolation as a possible cause of schizophrenia.

From a large scale study of *Mental Disorders in Chicago*, by the writer and H. W. Dunham, there emerge some very clear answers which may be typical of urban patients in general. Some parts of this study have been repeated in Providence, Rhode Island, with identical results. The details, which may be published soon cannot be presented here, but some of the principal findings can be summarized. A most significant general finding is that different answers to the above questions must be given for the different types of mental disorders.

In answer to the first question concerning what types of persons constitute the hospital population, each index measured shows great differences for the different diagnoses. Omitting details, the true picture can be indicated by certain index figures. Age, for example, varies greatly in the different diagnostic groups. The peak age group for the senile psychosis, that is, the age group with the highest rate, is 75 years and over. The peak age group for general paralysis, manic-depressive, and alcoholic psychosis is 45 to 54 years. The peak age for paranoid schizophrenia is 35 to 44 years, and for hebephrenic and catatonic schizophrenia, 25 to 34. The range of ages as well as the peak age group also varies with each diagnostic group.

Marital status shows similarly great contrasts. In the same sample of cases, the ratio of married to single, taking single as 100, is, in the general paralysis group, 3.19, in the senile group 2.25, in the alcoholic group 2.07, in the manic-depressive group 1.82, and in the schizophrenic group .64. Some differences of marital status also appear between the manic and depressed types, between the types of schizophrenia, and in each of the schizophrenic types between the sexes.

Though no direct measure of economic status of these patients is available, it is possible to construct a serviceable index by using the median rentals in the areas from which the patients come. This procedure yields a symbolic monthly rental figure of \$62 for the manic-depressive, of \$39 for general paralysis, of \$37 for paranoid schizophrenia, of \$35 for senile psychosis, of \$30 for hebephrenic schizophrenia, of \$29 for catatonic schizophrenia, and of \$23 for alcoholic psychosis. This represents a great spread

of economic level, with the highest rental nearly three times that of the lowest.

Differences in nativity are also found. Though it is impossible to state the details, the outstanding facts are that the Negro rates are highest for senile, general paralysis, alcoholic psychosis, and catatonic and hebephrenic schizophrenia. The foreign-born group has the highest paranoid schizophrenia rate, and the native white group, which is lowest in most respects, has the highest manic-depressive rate, in which the Negroes have the lowest rate.

In these four respects, then,—age, marital status, economic status, and nativity, clear answers can be given, but different answers are indicated for each type of disorder. The selectivity of the mental hospital, then, is greater than generally known, but this selectivity does not appear if all cases are examined together, without division into types.

To the second question, concerning where these patients come from, a similarly complex answer is necessary. Again it depends on the diagnosis, and, in the city at least, very clearcut differences can be shown. General paralysis, and paranoid and hebephrenic schizophrenia, mostly come from the central hobo, rooming-house, and foreign-born and Negro slum areas. Senile psychosis cases come from rooming-house and Negro areas, alcoholic from a broad foreign-born slum area, and catatonic schizophrenia from more restricted foreign-born areas. The manic-depressive rates are much more widely distributed, but show a slight concentration in the better class rooming house and apartment hotel districts.

Refinement of these area rates obtained by computing rates for the different nativity groups by areas yields a very astonishing result. For some of the diagnoses, it appears that the rates are high for any population outside of the region in which that population is in the majority. For example, although the schizophrenia rate for Negroes is high, and schizophrenia rates in Negro areas are high, the rates for Negroes are very high only for those Negroes outside the Negro districts. The high rates are contributed by white persons who live in these areas, where they constitute a small minority of the population. Rates for native whites are low in native white areas but are high in foreign-born areas, and rates for the foreign-born are low in their own areas but very high in the Negro areas. The rooming-house areas have such a heterogeneous population that no group is in the majority, and the rates for all of these groups are high there. In no case is the rate extremely high for any of these groups in the areas in which they are in the majority. Schizophrenia, then (and this is true of several other psychoses as well), comes mainly from hobo, rooming-house, and slum areas, and especially from those sections of the population in each area which are in the minority for that area.

The answer to the third question, concerning the nature of the social

life in these high rate areas, might be expected to suggest some causal connection between the sociological conditions and the abnormal behavior. Even a casual inspection suggests that the mobility, confusion, chaos, and personal isolation which are characteristic of these communities could provide only the worst sort of background for mental health, but it is possible to describe the disorganization in more specific detail.

The hobo areas are inhabited by a drifting population of homeless and jobless men, many without family, friends, or even acquaintances, and without plans or goals. The informal social control of the type that is based on primary group life, and that enforcing conformity with folkways and mores is virtually lacking, so that there is no pressure to produce conventionality in appearance and behavior. Thus, completely free of the channels of approved social behavior, the behavior of the homeless man is free to drift in any direction his inner whims and outward influences may direct. When this drift has gone far, or when it takes a socially undesirable turn, society judges the man to be mentally abnormal, or delinquent, or both. Estimates vary, but the probable truth is that a high proportion of the older homeless men from these areas are deteriorated in behavior and mentality.

The rooming-house districts are also areas of high mobility and of anonymous life. There is no neighborliness, no gossip, no informal social control. Nobody cares what neighbors may think, for they pay little or no attention to one another. Here, again, the personalities are likely to become highly individuated and unconventional. Zorbaugh has described the loneliness of the rooming-house dweller and Cavan has shown the role of these chaotic conditions in producing the high suicide rates of these areas. These are also non-family areas, and substitutes for normal sex life in marriage relationships are provided by commercialized vice, by such institutions as closed dance halls, and by informal sex promiscuity and perversion. The relationship of this situation to venereal infection, and therefore to general paralysis rates, is obvious. It is also easy to see the difficulty of maintaining a normal and conventional personality in an area where the necessary social support is lacking.

The slum areas near the central parts of the city, inhabited by newly arrived foreign and Negro populations, also provide a mentally unhealthy background. These populations are new not only to this city, but for the most part to any large city, and are facing the task of adjustment from rural or village agricultural life to urban industrial existence. The old ways of life do not work and new ways are not easily learned. The assimilated and secularized Americans act in ways which appear strange, wicked, and incomprehensible. Children who follow the American ways are also out of control. Where the population is heterogeneous, the neighborhood life lacks the intimacy necessary to social control. Free from the control

either of parents or neighborhood life, the children may be controlled either by the criminal traditions of the gangs, or remain isolated and drift into eccentricity.

It must be admitted that many other features of life in these areas, though perhaps not so important, may still contribute to personal abnormalities. Among such conditions may be the insecurity of life, the low status of the slum dweller, and various by-products of extreme poverty.

From case studies, it is possible to show in still more detail the role of the community in producing abnormal personal behavior. It must be remembered that even in the highest rate areas, the psychotic percentage is a minority, so that whatever the community influences are, they do not so operate as to make abnormality universal inside their bounds. This fact indicates that the community influences are only a part of the complex of causes, although for some disorders, as indicated by the pattern of rates, nearly an indispensable part.

In the case of such a germ disease as general paralysis, an explanation is not difficult. It is known that the vice districts are generally located as conveniently as political conditions allow to the areas of high mobility, inhabited largely by unmarried persons. Here is the largest, though not the only, demand for commercialized prostitution. Residential distribution of persons arrested in vice raids and the distribution of venereal disease deaths coincide in showing the large patronage of prostitution in these areas. The distribution of general paralysis cases is essentially the same as these. Though the disease is a germ disease, some of the conditions which bring about the high rates in these areas are societal.

The high rates of alcoholism are also located in centralized areas although the pattern is not identical with that of general paralysis. The alcoholic psychosis rates are distributed similarly to those of arrests for drunkenness and of deaths due to alcoholism. These are among the immigrant groups and the lowest economic classes. The explanation of these distributions awaits fuller discovery of the relation between living conditions and alcoholism and the relation between alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis.

For the distributions of rates of senile psychosis, psychoneuroses, manic-depressive psychosis, and others, there is no available basis for explanation.

The distribution of the schizophrenia rates, however, offers a fascinating problem because of the neat distributions, sharp concentrations, and because there is no satisfactory organic explanation of the disorder. Case material furnishes a possible hypothesis that disorganized community factors, in combination with other factors, may be responsible for the abnormality.

The writer has suggested elsewhere that many, or most, of the typical symptoms of the schizophrenic may be viewed as a result of extreme seclusiveness due to isolation. Given a long, extreme absence of primary contacts with other persons, these various forms of eccentricity which are

typical of the schizophrenic will develop. The *basic* cause of schizophrenia, then, will be whatever causes the isolation. The particular form the symptoms take must be explained by the special circumstances of the individual case.

The case studies show that community disorganization plays a part in producing isolation. It is not necessary to assume, as some have done, that the schizophrenics have a constitutional lack of sociability, or aggressiveness, or any other requisite for establishing normal social relations. It is found that a high proportion of schizophrenic patients have been at an early age normally sociable and that the forces which led to the isolation were only partly, or in some cases apparently not at all, within themselves but rather in their family and community relations.

In the typical sequence, the isolation process is not begun in community, but in family life. The great frequency of pampered, overprotected, spoiled children, in the schizophrenic group has been noted by many observers. It is likely that the process begins here. This fact, however, is not connected, so far as we know, with community disorganization, nor is it sufficient to produce schizophrenia by itself. It is likely that in the better residential districts, over-protection of children is as frequent or more so, and yet these children may develop into normal adults.

The spoiled child who is able to play with other children usually has his selfishness and conceit eliminated by the action of the playmates. It is in communities where opportunity for such healthful social relations are more difficult to establish that the pampering may lead to a permanent isolation. It must be pointed out that the opportunities for intimate social relations among children may exist in the most disorganized areas. The delinquent boy gangs are composed of sociable members and furnish a reasonably normal background for mental health. The members of gangs are seldom schizophrenic. The schizophrenics are those who, because of the selfishness, pampering, and related traits, are excluded and perhaps persecuted by the gangs and hence become isolated. The data indicate that it is much more difficult for a pampered child to gain acceptance by the gang members in a disorganized neighborhood than in a better residential neighborhood. This difficulty of establishing normal social relations *outside the family* appears to be the community factor that explains the concentration of high schizophrenia rates in disorganized areas.

A typical sequence may be described as follows. A boy is pampered by his mother; she gives him so much attention that he develops superior abilities, neatness, and moral attitudes. He lives in a community where the majority of boys are rough and delinquent. At first he tries to play with them, but because of his neatness, precision of language, prudishness, and other traits he is teased and persecuted by the boys. Retreating to his mother, he is comforted and assured that he is much superior to those bad

boys. This is easy for him to believe. As he accepts this evaluation of himself, he becomes even more conspicuous and is persecuted further by the rough boys. After repeated failures to gain their companionship, he may give up, stay at home, and amuse himself by solitary play or reading and get his only companionship from his mother, thereby increasing the damaging maternal attachment. After this retreat, his normally sociable inclinations may gradually disappear so that he begins to prefer his own company to that of others. This creates a vicious circle. The more he retreats, the more unacceptable he is to others, and the more they reject him, the greater his withdrawal. His withdrawal is not from "reality" but from social contacts with others. His behavior becomes less and less subject to that informal social control which preserves conventionality and thus becomes unconventional and incomprehensible to others. Because the communication in either direction is gone, he is just as unable to understand others as they are unable to understand him. His statements, reasonable enough to him, may appear as delusions to those who are unable to understand what is going on in his mind. The actions of others, reasonable to them, may appear to him as conspiracies directed against him, or fantastic in various other ways. For example, if he fails in his occupation, as is likely if cooperation with others is involved, he can not attribute this to any deficiency on his part, for his mother convinced him that he was superior to almost everyone. The only possible explanation of failure, then, is that others are working against him. He has some reason for this belief, as his unpopularity is visible; his only serious error is exaggerating the "conspiracy." However, since he fails so completely in so many things, it is easy to see how he can infer a giant and sinister plot directed against him. The balanced common sense that protects the normal person from such a conclusion comes from the intimate familiarity with the workings of human nature. The schizophrenic person has been unable to acquire this saving common sense because of his isolation.

In those communities, then, in which such conditions as extreme heterogeneity of types, mobility of population, secularization of ideas and individuation of personalities, are most prevalent, and where the person is surrounded by *other* races and nationalities, any person who, from pampering in infancy or any other cause, fails to establish normal social relations, finds it difficult or almost impossible to do so later. Because of the vicious circle effect, the longer the process goes on, the more hopeless the situation of the schizophrenic becomes. This may be the explanation of the apparently unfavorable prognosis in schizophrenia, especially for the older patients. There is no automatic process, either in normal society or in the hospital environment, which will reverse this process once it is well under way.

If the above interpretations are correct, a considerable portion of the

mental hospital population is unpromising material for therapy. To reestablish cooperation and sociability will be most difficult with these patients, as it is necessary to reverse complex organizations of habits formed over a long period of years. Although it may not be impossible, mere kindly treatment and hopeful waiting will not do the work. What hope there is must lie in the newer, more active techniques of reeducation or in techniques yet to be discovered.

Perhaps the real hope will never lie in treatment of patients. If the disorganization of the community generates these forms of behavior, the relief that society desires is likely to wait on stabilization of these communities, whether it is done by the use of scientific knowledge or takes place automatically.*

* The following paper by Professor Krout should be read in connection with this since it criticizes some of the positions taken by Professor Faris as well as those of Mr. Dunham.—Editor.

A NOTE ON DUNHAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECOLOGY OF FUNCTIONAL PSYCHOSES

MAURICE H. KROUT

Chicago City Junior Colleges

FROM THE department which has sponsored Cavan's definitive study of suicide, Mowrer's pioneer study of the disorganized family, Thrasher's natural history of the gang and Shaw's discovery of "blighted areas," there now comes a study of the ecological aspects of psychotic behavior, which bids fair to open a new era in the field of abnormal psychology.¹

The present note is an attempt to acknowledge the timeliness and ingenuity of the ecological approach but, at the same time, to separate the solid stuff of Dunham's study from the more nebulous propositions which have crept into it.² Of course, a critical discussion of this study is exceedingly difficult. In his carefully worded paper the author disarms his critics by admitting beforehand that his findings are vulnerable in several respects. At the risk, then, of reemphasizing his own exceptions, I shall bring out merely a few points which, I think, affect both the validity and the value of this important contribution.

That Dunham has definitely established several basic facts we must

¹ H. W. Dunham, "The Ecology of the Functional Psychoses in Chicago," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, August 1937, 2: 467-479.

² The analysis is based on Dunham's thesis and a careful examination of all his maps and statistical data, most of which have not been included in his published article. Dunham's study is antedated only by that of R. E. L. Faris which was never published in its entirety.

admit without reservation. He has proved that race, maleness, and femaleness are not statistically significant in psychosis. He has proved that there is a relationship between the housing index, the cultural level, the rental paid, and private hospital commitments on the one hand, and manic-depressive psychosis on the other hand. He has proved that there is little relationship or no relationship between the housing index, the cultural level, the rental paid, and private hospital commitments on the one hand, and schizophrenia on the other. Finally, he has discovered that the highest rates of schizophrenia are to be found in disorganized communities such as hobohemias, rooming house areas, and immigrant communities, while no such localization is found with reference to manic-depressive psychosis. There is no question as to the reliability of these conclusions. We can readily admit that Dunham has used the techniques of ecology and statistics with refinement and care. The questions that might be raised are, first: How valid are the results obtained? and second, How much help do they offer toward an understanding and solution of the problems involved?

At one point in this study, Dunham makes the statement that the environment is directly related to the development of schizophrenia but that it is of minor, or lesser, significance in connection with manic-depressive psychosis. This does not appear to me to be entirely justified. If by "environment," Dunham means ecological processes, the conclusion perhaps may be granted, so far as his data are concerned. If, however, he implies that manic-depressive psychosis is primarily a matter of esoteric inner processes, while schizophrenia derives from overt inter-personal relations, then I cannot agree with him. To support his conclusion he argues that schizophrenics tend to concentrate in areas of high disorganization, because they drift into these areas; while manic-depressive patients tend to stay in their original habitats. If manic-depressives do not tend to group up and are found throughout the length and breadth of the city, it would seem that the latter, rather than the schizophrenics, show a tendency toward mobility. This is in keeping with the characteristic hyperkinesis of the manic and is hardly typical of the notoriously passive schizophrenic.

Directly tied up with this point is the conclusion that precipitating factors may be causal in manic-depressives but are merely incidental in the case of schizophrenics. To say that precipitating factors are causal is to imply that either psychogenic or external factors are responsible for a given case of abnormal behavior. Such an implication is not justifiable. The "cause" of a psychosis is always a combination of an external situation and an inner constellation. Hence, the precipitating factor can never be deemed sufficient in itself, either in schizophrenia or in manic-depressive disorders. Even where the environmental situation appears to the onlooker indifferent or irrelevant, it may be of profound symbolic significance so far as the patient himself is concerned.

This brings us to the central contribution of the paper, *viz.*, the differences in the distributive aspects of manic-depressive and schizophrenic cases. Here we have objective facts, graphically presented and clearly demarcated. But what is the value of these facts if we do not know their causes?

From the infantile anamneses of pre-psychotics and psychotics, we know that there is typically no single trauma that is causally related to their illness. Instead, we find a *series* of frustrations in the vital activities of early life. In both psychoses, the important fact is the tendency toward narcissistic regression. In both psychoses, the tragic isolation of the patient, his so-called object-loss, or loss of contact, is due to his inability to square the demands of his moral attitudes with the unconscious aggressive impulses striving for expression. The inhibition of these impulses, and the failure of the individual to mitigate the inhibition by intelligent adjustments, is what brings on the psychotic crisis.

From the point of view of these factors, so obviously similar in the etiology of the functional psychoses, there is nothing that would throw light upon Dunham's discovery that the two psychoses differ in their ecological distribution in the population of a large urban center. We know, however, that schizophrenia is a fear-psychosis, induced by unsatisfactory trends in the family romance. We know, also, that in manic-depressive psychosis, the withdrawal of gratification after a prolonged or intense period of indulgence plays an important role. Thus, we must look to the period of original fixation for a basic explanation. In manic-depressive psychosis the regression is to the late oral-sadistic and anal-erotic stage, in which the total incorporation of the child's personified environment, his so-called "object," is the problem of the infant. In schizophrenia, on the other hand, the regression is to the early (passive) oral, or even prenatal, stage in which there is no problem of incorporation, since the individual has not yet learned to distinguish between himself and other objects. There is thus at least partial attachment in manic-depressive psychosis, while there is no attachment at all in schizophrenia.

The stage of fixation is of some importance in explaining the difference in the ecology of these psychoses. The frustrations which fixate the schizophrenic make-up go back to the stages of birth and early feeding. The frustrations determining the manic-depressive character occur chiefly in the period of anal-erotic, rather than oral-erotic, development, in which the problems are different and of later origin. Parents who are culturally on a lower level, and economically more handicapped, are more subject to anxiety-provoking situations, and thus tend to fixate undesirable attitudes in their offspring from the very beginning. On the other hand, parents who are economically and culturally on a higher level, frustrate their children's impulses precisely when the children begin to orient themselves to

their social world, when they develop teeth, are about to be transferred to a dish-fed diet, and are to be taught sphincter control. In other words, in families which are on a higher cultural level, the child becomes a problem only when its training becomes difficult; while on lower cultural levels, the child becomes a problem by virtue of its birth. Of course, this is purely theoretical, but it is precisely in such theoretical material that we must look for the explanation of objective facts such as those Dunham has described.

Traditional psychiatry for a long time emphasized clinical description. Was it not Kraepelin who first insisted that a patient's thoughts, so long as they remained abnormal, were of interest only for purposes of diagnosis? Undoubtedly, the description of symptoms facilitating diagnosis is important. The classification of the American Psychiatric Association contains twenty-two broad categories of mental disorder. These categories subsume some eighty sub-varieties. Because this classification is based on an overlapping symptomatology, it will probably be revised in the next few years; but a classificatory system of some kind will always constitute the essence of clinical procedure.

Besides nosological descriptions, we must have knowledge of environmental pressures affecting abnormal behavior. We must know more about the role of factors that come within the range of *human ecology*, dealing with the adjustments of groups and communities to their various habitats; *cultural anthropology*, dealing with the adjustments of individuals to the cultures of their groups; and *social psychology*, dealing with inter-individual adjustments, or the responses of individuals to social situations. Knowing the range of clinical variation, and the role of these factors in abnormal behavior, we can discover the environmental settings linked up with the appearance of the various clinical entities.

Our quest can not stop at this point. Again and again, we shall discover correlations between clinical types and environmental factors which defy explanation. Ultimately the problem of abnormal behavior, as of all behavior, rests on the discovery of typical dynamogenic pictures reflecting certain types of situations in particular individuals. Clinical diagnostic signs will not lead to this sort of discovery. Neither will ecological or cultural studies, as such, lead to it. We must have natural histories of the outstanding types of psychoses, a task bound up with the entire question of personality development, viz., integration and disintegration. Only carefully controlled personality studies can throw light on the contributions of cultural anthropology and human ecology which, even in excellent studies such as Dunham's, open up more problems than we can solve in the present state of our knowledge.

DEFECTIVE SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE AS A FACTOR IN CRIME

PAULINE V. YOUNG

University of Southern California

STUDIES of causal factors in criminal behavior have multiplied rapidly in the last half century. We cannot review the major or the more recent of these studies. Suffice it to say that many of them have suffered from a too heterogeneous selection of cases. The endless complexities entering into the behavior patterns of varied age groups, of varied nationalities, of varied cultures, of different stages of criminal behavior, almost preclude scientific findings.

A second serious limitation is that the different determinants of criminal behavior almost invariably have been studied as unitary, e.g., such factors as lack of home restraint, or urban conditions of life, or the thwarting of the social wishes, or emotional imbalance, have been listed with little or no reference to the cultural world nor to the changes in the role of personality which influence the behavior pattern.

This situation does not mean that students of criminology do not fully appreciate the intricate complexities of criminal behavior. There is considerable intellectual appreciation and much profound academic discussion, but there has been little actual collection and use of facts on a large scale under controlled conditions.

The obstacles encountered in studies of closely interrelated multiple factors, viewed as a *Gestalt*, even of a more or less homogeneous group of offenders, are numerous and complex. The writer, therefore, offers the following preliminary study in a series of other studies of adult offenders, with considerable hesitancy.

Two thousand consecutive probation records of men who had applied for probation at the Los Angeles County Probation Department during 1933 were taken for study.¹ These records revealed the following facts: 57 percent were under 30 years of age; 75 percent were native-born; 86 percent were "non-transients"; 59 percent were reared by both parents and 83 percent were reared at home by one or both parents; 45 percent had completed at least grammar school and 63 percent had more than eighth but less than twelfth grade education; 65 percent were Protestants; 90 percent were of "normal" intelligence; 95 percent were in good health at the time of arrest; 56 percent had committed crimes against property, that is, they were charged with burglary, robbery, grand larceny, auto theft, forgery, and embezzlement. Ninety percent admitted the use of intoxicants, and 30 percent admitted the use of alcohol to excess; only 2 percent admitted the use of drugs.

¹ Miss Wanda Partridge assisted with the statistical analysis.

To secure a more homogeneous group, further study was then limited to (1) men, (2) under 30 years of age, (3) white, (4) Protestant, (5) American-born, (6) of American-born parents, (7) of "normal" mental intelligence, (8) of good health, (9) who had at least a grammar school education but not more than high school, (10) who had committed offenses against property, (11) who were not transients in Los Angeles, (12) who were reared at home by at least one parent. Further delimitation did not seem possible. Two hundred and fifty cases with the above common traits were studied. It would appear from a superficial examination that these men possess many qualifications which generally result in an organized rather than criminal life, yet only 30 percent were first offenders; 70 percent had a juvenile court record and/or a police record and/or a criminal court record; or all combined. However, according to the record, these men were casual rather than habitual or professional offenders. At a later date, a control group will be studied.

The objectives of the study were to examine the processes of criminality as a *Gestalt* in this highly selected group and to learn the extent and the nature of the relationships between the personal configurated experiences, the social world and the changes in the role of personality which contributed to their criminal behavior.

With few exceptions, all of the following characteristics appeared as a complex in 70 percent of the cases studied intensively:

1. Family control was seriously undermined, not necessarily because the home was what is commonly called "broken" by death, separation, or divorce, but either because (a) the financial stress and strain absorbed most of the energies of the parents, or (b) made the parents so insecure that they suffered from many critical emotional upheavals in which the children soon became involved, or (c) husband-wife incompatibility undermined the solidarity of the home, disrupted the training of the young and produced mental and social conflicts in the children and between them and one or both of the parents, or (d) the parents were such dominant personalities that they constantly pitted their strength, will or desires against those of their children, or (e) the parents were ineffectual in the control over their children because of lack of insight, initiative, stability, and of frustrations due to their own home training, or (f) were suffering from ill health, or (g) were highly disorganized through drinking heavily, or (h) the parents had a criminal court record (15 percent). These factors rarely appeared in a simple combination of two or three; rather, four and five factors in any one family were the rule. (A separate study of the home conditions in relation to the cultural complex should be made.)

At present the men who are products of these homes have feelings of being cheated, of frustrations, of inferiority; they had developed bitter resentments against authority, against coercion. They had frequently run

away from home, or had started drinking and gambling, or had joined gangs before they left home for good. They had developed overpowering cravings for excitement and compensatory activities. They feel little or no obligation to their homes, to their parents, to brothers and sisters. There is no feeling of family solidarity and little or no mutual interest in family members.

They lack constructive conditioning to social situations which demand accommodation, independent judgment, sympathetic understanding, a "we-group" feeling. Yet these men respond to friendliness, kindness, co-operation and other primary ideals when they are convinced that they are not being exploited.

2. These men had failed not only to establish strong ties at home but they also have no or but feeble ties to the community, its institutions and social groups. Group solidarity is completely lacking. The following replies are typical: "I have never been close to any one." "For years I have not felt that any one was attached to me." "What do you mean by consideration for others? Why should I?" "I haven't been to a church in years." "I am not a member of anything."

They left school between 15 and 18 years of age (the peak being 16) and started to work in blind-alley jobs which offered no absorbing interest, little or no prospect for promotion and no status either from the standpoint of pay or type of work. They drifted from job to job at frequent intervals with many idle periods between. At present, they are still intermittently doing unskilled labor or clerical work with slight or no satisfaction derived from their work. They have no sense of security and live from day to day. Only a negligible number ever rose to skilled work.

4. When young, they had not found a place into which they could fit consistently and which could provide them with status, security and constructive opportunities to share and assume social responsibilities. At present there is no role which they can play effectively and satisfyingly for any length of time. This situation, perhaps more than any other, had contributed to tensions, restlessness, rebellion, aggression, self-absorption.

5. While they are at present legally county residents, they represent a high degree of mobility with no roots in any community. They live for the most part away from home in cheap hotel rooms, cheap rooming houses, old single apartments; those few who live at home with wife or parents generally live in semi-industrial, transitional areas.

6. They are confused by a multiplicity of standards and social codes which they have learned only indirectly through contacts with the industrial world, with street life, the movies, the press, the courts, the reform schools. They live *in* a community but they are not *of* it.

7. They only vaguely understand the social codes and standards of urban life. They are greatly impressed and imbued with personal success motives,

with desires for personal status and independence. Since they have never been able to achieve success through personal qualifications, they have become extremely irritable, feel compromised, are morbidly dissatisfied, blaming in turn the home, themselves, luck, society. They are too restless and have too little faith in education to attend night school for practical training. They have derived too little satisfaction and have seen too little evidence to convince them that school has something to offer them.

8. They distinguish verbally between right and wrong but fundamentally they have very little conception of what constitutes right in the complex, formal, impersonal, social organization of an urban society. They have never really experienced it. They know that they must be careful in order not to be caught but they are rarely bothered by a troubled conscience. We are reminded of Cooley's statement that "conscience is born of love," of "a feeling of allegiance to common standards of service and fair play." The lives of these men are characterized by personal and social conflicts, coercion, mobility; by economic struggle and strife; by personal incompatibility and non-participation in communal life. They have lived at homes and in communities in which the way-of-life was formal, vague, changeable, rationalized. Lack of established roots, of status, of a social role which they could play, of meaningful responsibilities which they could assume, a complete lack of a sense of humor and of a technique for facing even the slightest personal crises have produced a philosophy that they can and should beat the game. Embittered by conflicts, feelings of inadequacy and instability, they were ready to transgress the law at the slightest provocation: a dare or a hint from a companion, loss in gambling and betting, a notion to show a girl a good time, reading of a get-away of a burglar or robber, the sight of an automobile, of merchandise which was not guarded, a sudden plan to get married, to take a trip, to outstrip a companion, and so on, were sufficient incentives to precipitate burglary, robbery, grand larceny, or embezzlement. These overt acts, however, are the least of the symptoms of a disorganized personality and lack of social intelligence.

As indicated before, 30 percent of the selected group studied intensively had no previous criminal court record. These men also speak of many conflicts in the home, they have the same school and work records as described above; they admit the use of intoxicants, but their life, until their arrival in the city from a semi-urban or a rural American community, was socially and personally organized. They were at one time rooted in their social world, had participated in some of the social institutions of the community and were more or less responsive to the social and group controls, but upon arrival in the city without definite skills, unoriented, and without the moral support of the primary groups of which they were formerly members, they are unable to live in orderly fashion. Although they were organized at one time, they cannot become organized again in a world

in which they lack roots, where life is abstract, formal and cold. Their traditional cooperative living is highly inadequate in urban life. They lack resourcefulness, independent judgment, and an urban intelligence to accommodate themselves to new and complex conditions of life. They are, as Cooley says, "thrown back upon crude impulses and fall into confusion and disorder." They drift into crime by accident, or through chance associates. They gamble, drink heavily, they violate sanctioned relationships of city life, but fundamentally their behavior does not, at least at first, reflect true criminal attitudes; rather their transgressions are a direct, unconditioned response to urban life; but when they are dealt with as criminals by the police and the courts, when they are incarcerated, when they come in contact with shyster lawyers, with bond salesmen, when punishments are inflicted upon them which are frequently inconsistent with the offense committed, or at least seem so to them, they rapidly acquire the ways of the underworld and establish ties with it.

If we may be allowed to generalize on a study still in progress, we may call attention to the fact that careful scrutiny of the life histories of adult offenders who have applied for probation (which was granted only in 60 percent of the cases), reveals that criminal behavior is an outgrowth of lack of consistent and constructive conditioning to the demands of a complex society. The concept "inability to conform" is often erroneously used to mean "nonconformity" or "lack of opportunity to conform." Criminality is essentially rooted in social conflicts. The content of the mind of the offender is social and relates to inadequate social relations, persons, objects in the particular social world in which he lives but from which he does not derive the satisfaction of his wishes. There is a strong emotional undercurrent, but it is aroused, modified and conditioned by social relationships and the cultural behavior pattern. The criminal behavior pattern reflects the conflicting standards, attitudes and values of the group. These men have native intelligence; they lack urban and social intelligence; they lack specific occupational skills, absorbing interests, roots in a social world which would provide status, responsibility, challenging activities, and satisfying response.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF MIGRANTS

OTTO KLINEBERG
Columbia University

THIS PAPER summarizes the results of several studies bearing upon the "quality" of migrants with reference to intelligence. It deals therefore with the problem of "selective migration,"—the problem of whether those who migrate from any given area at any given time are superior intellectually to those who stay behind.

The problem is an old one. In 1899, Otto Ammon¹ formulated it clearly in *Zur Anthropologie der Badener*. He defended the thesis that the superior individuals, who are also dolichocephalic, migrated to the cities, whereas the relatively inferior brachycephals stayed on the land. The anthropometric linkage which he postulated has pretty well been discarded, but not so the theory of selective migration, to which appeal is frequently made in order to explain observed differences in population quality. Pintner,² for example, summarizes the intelligence test performance of rural children and concludes that "in general . . . it would appear as if the urban districts rate higher in intelligence than rural districts and that this is due to the migration of superior intelligence to the cities." Hirsch³ regards selective migration as responsible, at least in part, for the low general intelligence of the eastern Kentucky mountaineers. Peterson and Lanier⁴ find that whereas twelve-year-old Negro boys are definitely inferior to White boys in Nashville, in New York City there is little or no difference between the two races. They explain this fact by the selective migration of the most intelligent Negroes from the South to the North.

These examples are taken purposely from the writings of psychologists who have been concerned with the problem of variations in population quality. In every case, and probably in many other studies as well, the argument for selective migration appears to be based on logic rather than on empirical data. It is argued that certain qualities are necessary for migration, therefore the migrants must possess these qualities. The first half of this proposition has never been proved, however, and the conclusion drawn from it is not justified. On *a priori* grounds, one can make as good a case for the inferiority as for the superiority of the migrants. While working on Negro migration in the South, I found many southerners, both Negro and White, who did point out that it requires energy and initiative to start over again in a new community, as well as intelligence to see the advantages of the new environment over the old. There were just as many,

¹ Otto Ammon, *Zur Anthropologie der Badener*, Jena, 1899.

² R. Pintner, *Intelligence Testing: Methods and Results*, New York, 1931.

³ N. D. M. Hirsch, "An Experimental Study of the East Kentucky Mountaineers." *Genet. Psychol. Mono.*, 1928, 3: 183-244.

⁴ J. Peterson and L. H. Lanier, "Studies in the Comparative Abilities of Whites and Negroes," *Ment. Meas. Mono.*, vol. 5, 1929.

however, who argued that those who are more successful in the old environment, who have achieved a certain social and economic position, who possess property and friends, are less likely to wander off in search of fresh opportunities than those who are shiftless and unsuccessful and have nothing to lose by leaving. It was rare to hear the opinion that those who left were neither better nor worse than those who stayed behind.

In the following studies, the attempt was made to secure objective data which would throw light on this problem. (These studies were made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.) Several methods were used, but this paper is limited to the results obtained by only one of them, namely, the securing of an achievement record made by the migrants before they migrated. Comparing this with that of the non-migrants should yield the type of information needed.

The first studies dealt with the migration of southern Negroes northward. A full report of the method and of the findings has been published.⁵ The criterion of achievement was the school record. In spite of the admitted defects of school marks as an indication of intelligence level, it was felt that they might still be used to advantage. The school records in three southern cities, Nashville, Birmingham and Charleston, S. C., were examined for cases of children who had left for one or another of the northern cities. In Nashville, the records studied covered the years from 1921 to 1930 inclusive; in Birmingham, from 1914 to 1924; and in Charleston, from 1924 to 1930.

Care was exercised to make the records as objective as possible. If the register showed that a certain Negro boy in the fifth grade of a Nashville public school had left for a northern city, the mark with which he was credited was that obtained in the last school grade completed, in this case the fourth, so that the mark could not be affected by departure in the middle of the school term. In addition, a mark of sixty percent obtained in one school from one teacher in, let us say, 1919, was not assumed to be identical with a similar mark obtained from another teacher in another school in 1923. The method used was to put the records for every class into a rank order distribution so that the mark obtained by the migrant was determined by his position in the class and by the number of children in the class. By a simple formula, this percent position was transmuted into a rank score. When this method is used a mark of fifty means that the migrating child is exactly at the average for his class.

The information as to the destination of the migrant was obtained from school records, from teachers or principal of the school, or from other Negro families in the neighborhood in which the migrant formerly lived. The material used includes only those migrants for whom a specific destination could be ascertained; all other cases were omitted.

There were 303 cases of northern migrants from Birmingham, and they obtained an average score of 44.8 (S.D., 19.5), i.e., definitely below the

⁵ Otto Klineberg, *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration*, New York, 1935.

average of the whole population, which is 50. From Nashville, there were 184 cases, with an average score of 54.0 (S.D., 20.2). The Charleston records showed 75 migrants to the North with an average score of 55.6. The total group of 562 northern migrants had an average score of 49.3, which is almost exactly the average of the whole population.

Not all the migrants went North. Some went to other cities in the South, some to the borderline states (West Virginia, Kentucky), and many to rural districts in the vicinity. From Nashville, there were 110 migrants who went to other parts of the South; they had an average score of 44.5; 23 migrants to the border states had an average of 42.0. From Birmingham, on the other hand, 57 migrants to other parts of the South had an average score of 52.8, and 20 migrants to the border states, a score of 54.5. The 772 migrants from Nashville, Birmingham and Charleston average 48.5. There is no evidence for selective migration in these figures.

There was also a group of 89 migrants from Nashville who returned after a varying length of absence. It might be expected that they would constitute an inferior selection, since presumably they were unsuccessful in their new environment. These returned migrants, however, had an average score of 50.7, i.e., almost exactly at the average for the whole population.

A second study was made of White migrants from rural New Jersey to urban centers. The method used was the same as that in the previous study except that intelligence tests or achievement tests had been given in many New Jersey schools between 1927 and 1933 and these could be used instead of the school records. Only those subjects were included for whom it was possible to obtain the test score as well as the scores of the other children in the same school tested by the same teacher, and also the exact date of migration and the destination of the migrant. The test scores of the other children examined by the same teacher were regarded as essential, since even a relatively well standardized test may be given with slightly greater leniency by one examiner than by another, especially in those cases in which a teacher is anxious to have his group make a good showing. The method of using percent position rather than raw score was therefore employed in this study also.

The investigation was carried on by an assistant, Mr. H. H. Milt, in four New Jersey counties. In Burlington county, there were 284 migrants, with an average score of 47.2; in Sussex county, 100 migrants, average score 46.9; in Cumberland county, 107 migrants, average score 49.9; in Hunterdon county, 106 migrants, average score 46.2. All together, there were 597 migrants with an average score of 47.5, i.e., slightly below the average for the whole non-migrating population.

The tests used were unfortunately not always the same. For example, in Hunterdon county, the Stanford Achievement test was given; in Cumberland county, the Haggerty Delta, the Pintner-Cunningham, and the Stanford Achievement; in Sussex county, the National Intelligence Test;

in Burlington county, the Otis Self-Administering, the Detroit, Illinois, Stanford Binet, Pintner-Cunningham, and Stanford Achievement. This variety does not affect the results presented above, since in each case the obtained score was compared with those made by other children on the same test and presumably under similar conditions. It does, however, make the comparisons in terms of the actual intelligence quotient of migrants and nonmigrants a somewhat doubtful procedure. The figures are presented, therefore, with this limitation in mind, but they bear out the results obtained by the method of percent position. The I.Q.'s were combined separately for the migrants under twelve years of age and those over twelve, because of the well-known fact that the I.Q.'s of younger and older children are not directly comparable. For the under-twelve group, 470 migrants obtained an average I.Q. of 97.3, and 2703 non-migrants, an average I.Q. of 99.9. For the over-twelve group, 127 migrants had an average I.Q. of 89.6, and 606 non-migrants, an average I.Q. of 90.7. For the individual counties taken separately, the results are similar. There is little difference between the migrants and the non-migrants, and certainly no evidence, as far as this material goes, for selective migration.

In these New Jersey areas there is a great deal of seasonal migration associated with farming, harvesting, fruit picking, etc. Unfortunately, our material does not distinguish this type of migration from more drastic, true migration. Any future studies in this field should certainly take account of such factors in greater detail.

Both of these studies raise the question of the extent to which records of school children may be considered representative of the migrating population. These children were not the originators of the migration; they went passively with their parents. Conceivably there may be a selective migration which shows itself in the quality of the parents and not in that of the children. This is of course a possibility, but it does not constitute an important objection to the technique employed in these studies. Either intelligence is inherited, or it is not. If it is, then we have the right to study the intelligence of migrants by examining the intelligence of their children. If it is not, then selective migration will not materially alter the distribution of population quality in city and country and therefore will have no important permanent influence. This is of course an oversimplification of the problem, but further discussion of it would take us too far afield.

It is true, however, that a study of the migrants themselves, rather than of their children, would seem to furnish a more direct and convincing attack upon the problem. This was attempted in a third study, carried out in Germany by Dr. Betti Katzenstein at my suggestion, and along somewhat similar lines to the work previously done in this country. (I should like to acknowledge here the kind cooperation of Prof. William Stern, then of Hamburg University, under whose direct supervision this work was done.)

There were two reasons for conducting this investigation in Germany.

In the first place we wanted to have at least one study of rural-urban migration outside of America because we felt that we might perhaps obtain different results in a different setting. It was possible, for example, that there was elsewhere a different relationship between city and country, due perhaps to a greater loyalty to the home of one's ancestors, or to a smaller discrepancy in the opportunity for education offered in the two environments. In the second place, we were interested in obtaining records of adults who had migrated and we hoped that in Germany we would find rural schools with records going back a sufficiently long period of time so that ample material for our study would be available. In some respects, the German investigation fulfilled this promise but it turned out that there were also many drawbacks. The political upheaval there prevented the completion of all but a small part of the original plan.

The portion of the study to be considered was conducted in South Germany in the region known as Mittelfranken. A number of rural communities was visited in some of which the available school records went back to 1906. It was found, however, that the records in the ordinary public schools (Volksschulen) had not been kept in a form capable of being used, except in the last three or four years during which time only a very small number of cases could be collected. There was the further difficulty with the Volksschulen that a good deal of movement occurred among families of government officials (Beamten), who of course did not move of their own free will and therefore were not migrants in our sense. It was therefore decided to use the vocational schools (Berufsschulen), in which, according to Dr. Katzenstein, the large majority of later migrants to the city was to be found.

In one community, Langenrehm, there were 36 former residents who spent the full three years in the vocational school and then went to the city (usually Nuremberg). Incidentally, they went themselves; they were not taken to the city by their parents. The school records in this, as in other German schools, placed the students in one of another of five categories for every subject studied,—very good, good, satisfactory, deficient (mangelhaft) and unsatisfactory (ungenügend). To obtain a general mark for each student which could be handled statistically, it was decided, perhaps arbitrarily, to assign values from one to five to these categories in connection with each subject, and add these values to give a total score. The results showed that out of the 36 migrants from Langenrehm, 21 obtained a record better than the average of the non-migrants, and 15, a record poorer than the average. Using the method of percent position, as described above, the migrants obtained a score of 52.1, which is only slightly above the average for the whole population.

In the case of another rural community, Erlenberg, there were 16 migrants, 12 of whom were above, and 4 below the average for the non-migrants. The rank order score of the migrants was 60.1. This is one case in which selective migration does seem definitely to have taken place. In

the remaining rural communities, the number of cases was too small to permit of separate treatment of the results. These communities yielded another 14 migrants, of whom 9 were above and 5 below the average for the non-migrants; this group obtained a rank score of 58.2. Of the total migrating group of 66 students, there were 42 above the non-migrant average, and 24 below. The rank order score for the whole group is 55.4. It seems reasonable to conclude that in this area, although all classes of the population are represented among the migrants, there is some indication of selective migration with respect to intelligence, as least as far as this particular method of study is concerned. This last qualification is added primarily because Dr. Katzenstein, on the basis of other evidence, is inclined rather to discount any clear-cut selective effect. She did not herself use the method of rank order, but it was possible to work over her raw data from this point of view. There is, of course, the objection to this whole study that the number of cases is so small.

The main conclusion from this series of studies is that there is in general no indication that migrants as a whole are superior to non-migrants as a whole. There are some instances, e.g., the Negroes who left Birmingham for the North, in which the migrants are apparently inferior; some as in the German study in which the migrants are apparently superior; and some, as in the New Jersey study, in which the migrants cannot be differentiated from the non-migrants. Any blanket concept of "selective migration" with respect to intelligence is not justified by the evidence.

Obviously, however, there is some selection. Not all southern Negroes move to the North; not all the inhabitants of rural districts flock to the city. In my opinion, there are many possible factors which may be operative and which require special and detailed study. Among these, three main groups of causes probably play an important part.

First, there are the economic factors which frequently have been described,—the "push" out of certain areas, and the "pull" exerted by others. Raper's recent study, *A Preface to Peasantry*⁶ has demonstrated how the boll weevil caused an exodus of Negroes from Green county in Georgia, whereas there was relatively little migration from Macon county which had not been similarly afflicted. This surely would not give any selective migration with regard to intelligence. Indirectly, however, economic factors may be related to the quality of the migrants. In our Negro study, for example, the higher score of the Charleston migrants and the relatively low score of the Birmingham group suggests that there may be different factors operative in different communities, so that from one, the superior individuals, from another, the inferior, will tend to migrate. Economic factors may be responsible. It is possible that where economic conditions are very bad, as they have been for some time in South Carolina, Negroes with more enterprise and intelligence realize the advantage of trying their

⁶ A. Raper, *A Preface to Peasantry*. Chapel Hill, 1937.

luck elsewhere; where conditions are better, as they undoubtedly were in Birmingham until the depression, it may be that there is enough work for the more capable, while those with less ability find it worth their while to leave. This is merely an hypothesis which would have to be tested by careful investigation of the economic status of the migrants and their relation to the general population.

A second group of factors determining selection, but not related in any direct manner to intelligence, consists of the personality characteristics of the migrants. In *The Negro in Chicago*, Dr. Charles Johnson⁷ quotes a letter from a southern Negro who said he migrated North because he wanted to go where he needed to "humble to no man." Here it may be added that the treatment of Negroes by Whites in southern communities has had an important bearing on the amount of migration. When we turn to Germany, we find that there are many people who are so attached to their land that the idea of leaving it is highly unpleasant. There are also many people who simply prefer to live in the country. It may be that individuals have different thresholds for speed, for noise, and for other features of the urban environment. Finally, even if migration does require energy and initiative, there is no proof that these qualities are highly correlated with intelligence.

A third group of factors may perhaps be labeled adventitious or accidental. In the material collected by Mr. Louis E. King⁸ in West Virginia, there was a large number of migrants who left home as a result of direct inducement by relatives and friends living in the North; a few left because of misdemeanors which they had committed. The German material also shows many instances of migrants persuaded to leave by relatives who had come to visit them, and others who were invited by friends in the city who often also held out the promise of employment. It is clear that migration is by no means always the result of a spontaneous decision to move, and there is no proof that those who have friends in the city are brighter than those who have none.

For every mass movement of people, the underlying factors, economic or psychological, which are responsible for the movement must be studied separately. It may be that when much more work has been done, it will be possible to formulate certain general principles as to what kind of people are likely to leave in one set of conditions and what kind in another. The results presented in this paper are not entirely conclusive, partly because of the small number of cases studied, partly because of criticisms which legitimately may be leveled against the criteria used in the measurement of intelligence. They do suggest, however, that a group of migrants may be superior, inferior, or equal to the non-migrants, and that in the meantime nothing can be said about the intelligence of migrants in general.

⁷ *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922.

⁸ Unpublished. See Reference (5).

MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST*

PAUL S. TAYLOR
University of California

OUR SOCIAL agencies, rooted in the traditions of England's parishes more than a century ago, are geared to care for *residents*. Our educational institutions, although they arose on a fast-moving frontier, were built for the children of *settlers*. In general, our laws look with favor on the freeholder, the tax-payer, the local citizen who is "part of the community." They were passed for the benefit and protection of neighbors. Migrants are tolerated or welcomed only when their work is needed or they have money to spend. When they become penniless and without visible means of support, they are given the social facilities of the community grudgingly or denied them entirely, and as "vagrants" they are urged, or even subsidized with enough gas and oil, to "get along" to the next community.

In the states on the western rim of the country, agricultural employers have long depended on mobile workers to harvest their crops. Since the Wheatland hop field riots 25 years ago and the studies of Carleton Parker, the problems of the itinerant worker have been brought home to the West, but they remain largely unsolved. Indeed, their complexity has grown, for race groups have multiplied and families have more and more entered the fields as migrants, bringing women and children where originally there were mainly roving single men. With expanding acreages under irrigation supporting ever more orchards, vegetables, and cotton with their heavy and highly seasonal demand for hand laborers, the dependence of far western agriculture on migratory labor has never been greater than now.

It is essential to the success of agriculture that the harvests shall proceed in peace, but in 1933 and 1934 the harvesting of crops was interrupted by more than fifty strikes. While there were few outbreaks in 1937, the growers report "agitators" in the field, are apprehensive, and are organized from Arizona to Washington. According to press reports, probably exaggerated, the Associated Farmers claim "35,000 militant farmers," 25,000 in California and 10,000 in Arizona, Oregon and Washington, ready "to fight the subversive activities of the Communists and their allies," including the C.I.O.

The reasons for dependence on migratory labor, and for the peculiar labor relations which characterize irrigated agriculture in the Far West,

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are deep-seated. As Adams, Landis, and Tetreau have shown, the demand for seasonal labor in California is three times as great at the peak as at the slack point; in Arizona it is six times as great; in the Yakima Valley of Washington, it is more than sixteen times the slack. These fluctuations produce both unemployment and continual movement following the harvests in order to dovetail employment.

Not only are existing conditions a product of the nature of the crops, but they are grounded also in the structure of agriculture which shows industrial characteristics to a marked degree. Of all large-scale farms in the United States, approximately 45 percent are located in the four far western states which stretch from Arizona to Washington. Wendzel has pointed out that while in the United States as a whole only 11 percent of the farms reporting hired labor employed three laborers or more, totalling about 39 percent of all the paid laborers, in the three Pacific Coast states, 20 percent of the farms employed three paid laborers or more, aggregating more than 60 percent of all the hired laborers. The extreme of contrast showing the industrialization of agricultural employment in the West appears from comparison of Minnesota and Arizona. In Minnesota, only 29 percent of the farms reporting hired laborers employed three or more; in Arizona, the proportion was ten times as great, or 29 percent. In Minnesota, these farms employed only 10 percent of the paid farm laborers of the state; in Arizona, they employed 82 percent.¹

Not only is large-scale agriculture prevalent in the Far West and concentration of employment in relatively few hands, but wage relations are highly developed with gang labor typical, including piece rates, hourly rates, foremen and labor contractors. Open-air food factories producing for a highly commercialized market predominate in many parts of these states and have stamped agriculture there with an industrial pattern.

To the migratory workers in Pacific Coast agriculture, this pattern means chronic irregular employment, frequent movement from job to job, often extending many hundreds of miles in a single seasonal cycle, and low incomes. Average earnings of migrant families applying for relief in December, 1935, and January, 1936, in California ranged from \$381 in 1930 to \$289 in 1935. Landis reports average family earnings of Yakima Valley migrants in 1935-36 as \$276 among those who received relief and \$425 among those who did not. By any American standard such incomes are low.

The condition of the far western migrants is not new, but it has been given national significance and rendered more complex by the tide of refugees from drought, depression, and farm mechanization. During the 29 months ending November 15, 1937, some 210,000 migrants "in need of

¹ Julius T. Wendzel, "Distribution of Hired Farm Laborers in the United States," *Monthly Lab. Rev.*, September 1937.

manual employment" entered California by motor vehicle. How many remain there is unknown, but the net accretion to the state and to its wandering agricultural labor supply is large. In lesser degree, the same influx is being felt in Arizona, Oregon, and Washington.

The pattern of the group whose problems we are to consider, then, is briefly this: The needs of intensive, industrialized agriculture are served by a large migratory labor supply. The total number of mobile people is unknown, but may well exceed 200,000. This group is unstable, subject to irregular employment, low earnings, and the social and political disabilities of non-residents. In Washington and Oregon, the migrants are mainly white American families. In Arizona and California, there are also large numbers of Mexican families and some thousands of single Filipinos. In all these states, the number and proportion of native white American families from the Great Plains and other sections of the Southwest is increasing.

These migratory agricultural workers present important problems of labor legislation, social security, and social work. Five will be described.

1. *Child labor and education.* The principal evils of child labor in agriculture are avoided if laws for compulsory school attendance are well drawn and well enforced. Strict enforcement with eternal vigilance is the primary consideration. Whether or not this is achieved depends mainly on the attitude of the community. On the Pacific Coast, the attitudes of communities vary but in general they support enforcement. One pitfall in drafting legislation can be avoided. State funds should be allocated to counties and districts on the basis of actual attendance in school, not on the basis of mere presence of children in the school district, as in Oregon. The potential evils of this system are well known and have reached their fullest flower in the South.

The state of California encourages educational provision for migratory children by reimbursing counties for one-half of the amounts which the counties allocate to elementary school districts "on account of special schools or classes for the children of migratory laborers," not to "exceed \$75 per calendar year per teacher."

Avoidance of stigmatization of migratory children as "pea pickers," to be segregated for other than sound educational reasons, is hardly a matter for legislation but rests rather on a healthy community attitude and intelligent school administration.

2. *Health.* The bad conditions under which many of the migrant families live, strewn over the fields and by the roadside, cannot be described adequately; they must be seen. Of Imperial Valley a United States Commission stated: "... we found filth, squalor, an entire absence of sanitation, and a crowding of human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built of boards, weeds or anything that was found at hand to

give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst." In 1937, a year of costly typhoid epidemics in California, approximately 90 percent of the reported cases occurred among agricultural migrants. A 1937 study of 1,000 children of California migratory agricultural laborers by Dr. Faverman reports that "migratory American children . . . were found to have medical and hygienic defects in 23 percent more cases than resident American children examined in the rural areas of California during the same year." Also that "Over 27 percent of the children have nutritional defects, many of which cannot be corrected because of the low family income."² It was found that only 10.5 percent of the children were getting daily the amount of milk "considered optimum for growth and development, while 15.8 percent were getting no milk."

Underhill, in a study of 132 families in California cotton camps, reports that "to the large group of people falling in the classifications of non-resident and 'State homeless' medical care is not available except for emergency conditions. The group as a whole is unable to pay for private medical care because of low income, and those who do pay for it often deprive themselves of necessities by so doing. . . . Many of the group having definite or probable residence do not receive the medical care which they need. Their economic status does not permit their paying for this care."³ Dr. Faverman found that 66 percent of the families which she studied had been in California less than the three years necessary to establish state "residence," and that 41 percent of the remainder have not been long enough in any county to establish county residence entitling them to care. The tragedy of the settlement laws is made only the more complete by the fact that of the 66 percent of families which had failed to establish California residence, "about 39 percent of these have lost their residence in their home states."

In order to raise the standard of labor camps in California, a state camp inspection division was created in 1912. This division was able to do effective work for many years but recently it has been stripped to the bone by the pressure of employers and by others seeking "economy." In the late twenties, a state law was passed authorizing establishment of tax districts to maintain local public camps for agricultural workers but it appears that the employers have never availed themselves of this statute.

At present, the Federal Farm Security Administration has assumed the initiative in stimulating improved sanitary conditions by establishing and operating a small demonstration chain of migratory labor camps. The

² Anita E. Faverman, "A Study of the Health of 1,000 Children of Migratory Agricultural Laborers in California," *California State Board of Health*, 1937.

³ Bertha S. Underhill, "A Study of 132 Families in California Cotton Camps," *California Department of Social Welfare*, 1937.

future of this important and successful program will depend largely on Congressional support.

Curiously, some of the militant employers maintain ill-concealed opposition to government camps. They fear that employees will unionize more readily in government camps than in those on their own land under their immediate control. They seem to feel that the hazard of unionization is more menacing than the hazard to public health, citizenship, and order which exists in the evil squatters' camps and bad private camps in which many thousands of families now live. Of course, many smaller farmers and even large growers approve the camps. Here is a new facet of the old issue of protective legislation.

The Federal Government is further promoting health among western migrants by allocating funds from social security taxes for rural public health work. In California, the State Department of Public Health has been enabled by these funds to assign physicians to migrants and to place nurses in the camps of the Farm Security Administration.

In the last session of Congress, H. R. 8225 was introduced by Congressman Voorhis to allocate more social security funds to states and counties for more adequate medical care to non-residents and thus meet the aggravated conditions among western migrants previously described.

3. *Relief.* Statistics of relief incidence among migratory agricultural laborers are not available but it is undoubtedly heavy and would be heavier if settlement laws and other restrictions did not place so many obstacles in the way. There are about as many farm laborers as farm operators in the four Far Western states, but in March, 1935, there were on relief in these states approximately 10,800 farm operators and 29,500 farm laborers, or 2.7 times as many laborers as operators.⁴

Not only is the incidence of relief heavy among the laborers, but because of the steady influx of refugees to the coast, these states are apprehensive of mounting permanent relief liabilities. Counties and cities share the same fears as the states. The local measures adopted to meet this situation are sometimes desperate. A California county in 1934 voted \$2,500 to subsidize the movement of pea pickers into the next county at the end of the harvest. Los Angeles police patrolled the borders of the state in what the press called a "bum blockade." The California Assembly passed a bill to bar at the border indigents liable to become public charges.

The issue between states and between counties of who shall bear the costs of relief is real but it is hardly a solution to leave the burden on the shoulders of the already distressed, nor to leave it entirely on the states and counties which happen to receive the distressed. Other states and the nation should share some of the responsibility.

⁴ "Workers on Relief in the United States," March 1935, *Works Progress Administration*.

Inequality of economic opportunity is not the only reason for emigration to the coast. Of the 210,000 migrants entering California, 50,000 or 24 percent, came from Oklahoma. In many counties of that state, the level of direct relief is only from \$3 to \$5 per family per month. Furthermore, when relief agencies of the western states offer to return indigents to Oklahoma, the county authorities in that state commonly acknowledge the residence of the indigent but decline to accept any responsibility. This is a particularly acute example of the interstate character of a relief problem which seriously afflicts the migratory workers. I am not familiar with any measures which have been taken to assess relative responsibilities of the states for their indigent people. However, in the last session of Congress, H. R. 8279 was introduced to reduce the burden on those states now receiving large numbers of poverty-stricken "transients" and to reduce the hardships suffered by these people because of inadequate state and local funds and the restrictive settlement laws. The bill provides federal funds for states which will expend them in relief to transients on the same basis as to its own needy citizens and which will agree that acceptance of such federally subsidized relief for less than 14 months out of 24 shall not prevent acquisition of state and local "residence" rights by the recipient. The present volume of interstate distress migration and its probable continuance, make imperative the adoption of some such plan.

The coming of the harvests produces regularly a cry of labor shortage from western growers. It is an old cry, for labor must always be moved to the fields, and the cry of "shortage" is another way of advertising "opportunity." To some extent, the growers' agents have always blamed relief agencies for withholding labor; since 1935, these criticisms have increased. Space does not permit weighing the issues between growers desiring abundant labor, clients clinging to the minimum security of relief, and agencies protecting clients from exposure to the hazards and hardships of migratory labor in the fields. It may be pointed out, however, that in California, in October, 1936, when the index fell to 97, the crop reporting service for the first time in seven years or more reported less than 100 men available for the 100 jobs. In 1937, although growers continued to complain of the "cushion provided through relief agencies," their representatives reported the labor supply situation as "happy."

4. *Labor relations, wages and hours regulation, and social security.* The packing and processing of fruits and vegetables is commonly performed under industrialized conditions in the irrigated districts of the Far West, especially where the large scale pattern of agriculture is most fully developed. Much of this work is performed by "fruit tramps" who migrate from crop to crop like the field workers. Under decisions by the Bureau of Internal Revenue and by state social security agencies, this work is held to constitute "industrial labor" when it is such in fact, and not to consti-

tute "agricultural labor." By these rulings, the men and women who pack have been assured the protection of social security legislation, which exempts "agricultural labor."

Large processing employers oppose this recognition of processing as "industrial." They have sought, successfully in the Fair Labor Standards Bill which passed the Senate, to have considered as "agricultural" all labor performed "within the area of production" in "preparing, packing, or storing . . . fresh fruits or vegetables in their raw or natural state," no matter how industrialized the process. By focussing on the agricultural product in its "raw or natural state," attention has been diverted from the industrial conditions under which the product is processed.

The effort to expand the definition of "agricultural labor" at the expense of "industrial labor" is not limited to wages and hours regulation, nor to the processors of agricultural products. Fish canners, cotton ginners, turpentine and tobacco processors unite to exclude their laborers from protective legislation. If the definition of "agricultural labor" can be expanded, as the processors have already achieved in the Senate Labor Standards Bill, it is but a step to inclusion of the same definition in labor relations and social security legislation. Undoubtedly this is the intent.

The importance of the definition of "agricultural labor" is not underestimated by the large processors. Last year the conservative *San Francisco Chronicle* described, with the significant headline: "It DID happen in Salinas," the way in which private employing interests and local authorities handled the Salinas lettuce packers' strike. After the strike, the National Labor Relations Board held embarrassing hearings. Early this month (December, 1937), the Associated Farmers of California protested against "usurpation" of power by the Board in extending its jurisdiction to so-called "agricultural activities."

In the Far Western states, the administrative problem of extending social security to agricultural labor would be simpler than some of us have thought. If a social security law were to cover those farms which employ three or more hired laborers, practically two-thirds of the laborers would be protected, yet administration would need to reach only one farm in twenty.

5. *The structure of agriculture.* The grounding of many migratory labor problems in the industrialized structure of irrigated agriculture in the Far West was emphasized at the outset. It is pertinent, therefore, to invite the attention of students of social work, social security, and labor legislation to the agricultural labor program developed in the Far West by the Farm Security Administration. This program begins with the migrant labor camps described earlier. Its second stage, already started in the southern San Joaquin valley, is provision of decent low rental housing for the more stable migrants. A third step proposes a combination of low

rental housing with a small farm under unitary operation to provide the occupants with high grade, low cost dairy, poultry, and truck products, and some stabilizing employment. A fourth stage of the program is establishment of large scale corporate farms, with the work performed by the residents and the benefits paid to them, in lieu of corporate farms owned by absentees, operated by hired managers, and worked by hordes of migratory wage laborers.

This program represents an attempt to raise the standard of living of the migrants, to stabilize them, and so far as possible to give them a place on the land with the means for efficient and modern operation, so that they may be not only tillers of the soil but also resident owners. Though couched as a farm program, it is equally a labor program.

Social security, social work, and labor legislation thus appear in forms both old and new when they face the problems of migratory agricultural workers.

Official Reports *and* Proceedings

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I. NAME

SECTION 1.—This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTS

SECTION 1.—The objects of this Society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion and the promotion of intercourse among persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1.—Active membership in this Society shall be open to any person meeting the conditions prescribed in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

SECTION 1.—The officers of the Society shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, elected at each annual meeting. The offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be filled by a single individual.

SEC. 2.—The President of the Society shall preside at all business meetings of the Society. He shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. He shall have direct charge of the general program of the annual sessions, but shall consult the Executive Committee in selecting the general topic and plan of the general sessions. He shall perform all duties assigned to him by the Society and the Executive Committee. In the event of his death, resignation, or absence, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, his duties shall devolve successively upon the First Vice-President, the Second Vice-President, and the Secretary.

SEC. 3.—The First Vice-President and the Second Vice-President shall be members of the Executive Committee, and may succeed to the duties of the President as provided in section 2.

SEC. 4.—The Treasurer shall receive, have the custody of, and disburse the funds of the Society, subject to the rules of the Executive Committee.

SEC. 5.—The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

SECTION 1.—The Executive Committee shall be the permanent governing body of the Society, except in so far as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the Executive Committee.

SEC. 2.—The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the two Vice-Presidents, past presidents for the first five consecutive years after the completion of their respective terms as President, and six elected members, whose terms shall be three years, and two of which shall expire each year.

SEC. 3.—The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, shall establish

sections of the Society, and shall have power to fill vacancies in its elective membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 4.—Seven members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee at regular annual meetings, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

SEC. 5.—Other committees may be provided for by the Society or by the Executive Committee with the approval of the Society, or by the Executive Committee alone in case of an emergency when it is not possible to secure the action of the Society, as prescribed in the By-Laws.

SEC. 6.—All emergency committees appointed by the Executive Committee to act for the Society between business meetings of the Society must be confirmed by vote of the Society at its next annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. ELECTIONS

SECTION 1.—The elected members of the Executive Committee and all officers except the Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. MEETINGS AND SESSIONS

SECTION 1.—The term "business meeting," as used in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, shall refer to a gathering of the Society or of any subordinate body of the Society at which business is transacted. The term "session" shall refer to a gathering for the purpose of presenting a program of papers and discussion.

SEC. 2.—The term "annual meetings" shall be used to include both business meetings and sessions. The Society shall hold its annual meetings during a period of consecutive days, at a time and place determined by the Executive Committee.

SEC. 3.—The Society shall hold annually two or more business meetings at which it shall transact its business. The annual election of officers shall be held at the business meeting preceding the last session of the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. DIVISIONS AND SECTIONS

SECTION 1.—Recognized fields of sociological interest shall be designated by the Executive Committee and called "divisions." The President of the Society shall appoint chairmen of the divisions who jointly with the President shall arrange the programs.

SEC. 2.—A section of the Society shall be composed of members of the Society interested in a common field of sociological specialization. Sections shall meet annually during the time of, and in the same city as, the annual meeting of the Society.

SEC. 3.—Such sections shall be known as "autonomous sections" when they elect their own officers and as "participating sections" when their chairmen are appointed by the President of the Society.

SEC. 4.—Both participating and autonomous sections shall cooperate with the general program of the Society in planning their sessions.

SEC. 5.—All members of sections must also be members of the Society as a whole and are subject to all the obligations to, and enjoy all the privileges of, members.

SEC. 6.—All sections shall meet at the same time and place as the Society as a whole and are subject to its determination.

SEC. 7.—Additional participating or autonomous sections may be authorized or existing sections disbanded by the Executive Committee, *provided* that in each case such action is approved by a majority vote of the members of the Society present and voting at an annual business meeting.

ARTICLE IX. SPECIAL FUNDS AND ENDOWMENTS

SECTION 1.—With the approval of the Society, the Executive Committee, or such other committee as it or the Society may designate specifically for the purpose, may solicit, receive, invest, and expend funds, and the income therefrom, for special purposes designed to further the research and other interests of the Society.

ARTICLE X. AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1.—The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the Secretary by five members of the Society not later than two months before the annual meeting.

SEC. 2.—It shall be the duty of the Secretary to send a copy of all amendments thus proposed to the members of the Society at least one month before the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

SECTION 1.—Any person interested in the objects of this Society shall be eligible to active membership upon application and recommendation by a member of the Society.

SEC. 2.—The dues for active membership in the Society shall be six dollars per annum, without initiation fee. Each member shall be entitled to one subscription to the publications of the Society.

SEC. 3.—Joint membership may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment of dues of seven dollars per annum, both of whom shall have all of the rights and privileges of active membership in the Society, *provided* that they shall together be entitled to one subscription to the publications of the Society.

SEC. 4.—Students of educational institutions may be admitted to active membership in the Society upon the payment of dues of four dollars per annum.

SEC. 5.—Any active member of the Society may become a contributing member by the payment of dues of an amount between seven and ten dollars per annum. Contributing members shall have the rights and privileges of active membership.

SEC. 6.—Any active member of the Society may become a sustaining member by the payment of dues of ten dollars or more per annum. Sustaining members shall have the rights and privileges of active membership.

SEC. 7.—Any active member of the Society may become a life-member by the single payment of one hundred dollars. Life-members shall have the rights and privileges of active membership.

SEC. 8.—Honorary membership in the Society may be conferred upon any person by election at any annual meeting of the Society upon nomination by the Executive Committee. Honorary membership shall not involve obligation for payment of dues, in the absence of which it shall not carry with it the rights and privileges of active membership.

SEC. 9.—In addition to the above classes of membership, the Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, is authorized to issue a charter to local or

regional groups of ten or more persons at least one of whom shall be a member of the American Sociological Society. The annual dues of local or regional chapters shall be ten dollars. Each chapter is entitled to one copy of the current publications of the Society. Chapters shall have no vote in the affairs of the Society, but shall be entitled to the opportunity to publish notices of their chapter activities in the publications of the Society and shall have the right to establish their own rules of government and procedure, subject to general regulations of the Executive Committee of the Society. Applications for the admission of chapters to the Society shall be in a form prescribed by the Executive Committee. The charter of a chapter may be withdrawn by action of the Executive Committee if annual dues are not paid promptly, if it becomes inactive, or if its continuance is considered not for the best interests of the Society.

ARTICLE II. ELECTIONS AND VOTING

SECTION 1.—The nominations for the officers and elective members of the Executive Committee of the Society shall be posted by the Committee on Nominations in a public place at the headquarters of the annual meeting at least twenty-four hours before the elections take place.

SEC. 2.—Nominations in addition to those presented by the Committee on Nominations may be made in the form of a written statement, signed by at least seven members of the Society, and posted in a manner similar to the report of the Committee on Nominations, not less than fifteen hours before the elections take place. There shall be no nominations from the floor.

SEC. 3.—All elections shall be held directly under the supervision of the President unless otherwise ordered by a majority of the active members of the Society at any meeting.

SEC. 4.—All elections of officers and elective members of the Executive Committee shall be by ballot.

SEC. 5.—All active members of the Society present at business meetings may vote as prescribed herein by the By-Laws.

SEC. 6.—The President shall appoint a sufficient number of members of the Society as assistants to distribute and collect the ballots.

SEC. 7.—The President shall also appoint a chief teller and two assistant tellers from among the members of the Society to count the ballots.

SEC. 8.—The President shall announce all elections by ballot and the Secretary shall record the results.

SEC. 9.—All other voting by the Society shall be *viva voce*, unless otherwise called for.

SEC. 10.—After the election of officers the President and Secretary shall meet in joint session with the chairmen of the sections to consider plans for the program of the next annual meeting.

ARTICLE III. COMMITTEES

SECTION 1.—Early in each year the President shall appoint a nominating committee consisting of not less than five members of the Society. In selecting the personnel of this committee attention should be given to geographical representation. The names of the committee shall be published at as early a date as possible, but not later than September, with a request to the general membership that suggestions for nominations to the various offices be sent to the chairman.

SEC. 2.—The Executive Committee may create such temporary committees of its

own body or of the Society, not provided in the Constitution, as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society, subject to the approval of the Society.

SEC. 3.—The Society, by vote taken in open meeting, may also create and otherwise dispose of committees for the carrying-out of its will in whatever manner it may designate, subject only to the provisions of the Constitution and By-Laws.

SEC. 4.—The Research Planning Committee of the Society shall be composed of the President, Treasurer, and three additional members elected by the Executive Committee and having three-year terms, one of which shall expire each year. At the time of election each of these additional members shall be a member of the Executive Committee.

SEC. 5.—The Research Planning Committee shall meet upon the call of its Chairman, or of a majority of its members.

SEC. 6.—The Research Planning Committee shall have specific responsibility for the research activities of the Society. In carrying out these responsibilities it may appoint such subcommittees, and may associate with it such other members of the Society, as the administration of these responsibilities may require.

SEC. 7.—The President of the Society shall be Chairman of the Research Planning Committee, and the Secretary of the Society shall be *ex officio* Secretary of the Research Planning Committee. In the absence of the President of the Society, the Research Planning Committee shall elect a Chairman *pro tem*.

SEC. 8.—All resolutions shall be referred to the Resolutions Committee before submission to the vote of the Society.

SEC. 9.—All actions of the Executive Committee initiated by this Committee and not performed in the process of carrying out those functions delegated to it with power must be approved by the Society before they shall be binding upon the Society.

SEC. 10.—All recommendations by the Executive Committee for the cooperation of the Society with other societies and associations and all nominations by it of representatives from this Society to other societies and associations with which it is in active cooperation must be submitted to the Society for approval, *provided* that temporary vacancies among representatives occurring in the interim of annual meetings of the Society may be filled by the Executive Committee to serve until the next annual meeting of the Society. In case there is not time for the Executive Committee to act upon such a vacancy by mail, the President may make a temporary appointment; but otherwise the President is limited to making recommendations to the Executive Committee and to announcing its decision.

SEC. 11.—All recommendations or nominations of the Executive Committee to the Society shall be submitted in open business meeting singly and separately for action by the Society.

SEC. 12.—In case of a vacancy in the office of Secretary or Treasurer occurring in the interim of annual meetings, the Executive Committee shall fill this office, the appointment being effective without action of the Society until regular action is taken at the next annual meeting.

SEC. 13.—The Editorial Board of the Society shall be composed of the President and the Secretary of the Society, an Editor and a Managing Editor, elected by the Society for two-year terms, and six additional members elected by the Society for three-year terms, two of which shall expire each year.

SEC. 14.—The Editorial Board shall meet upon the call of its Chairman, or of a majority of its members.

SEC. 15.—The Editorial Board shall have specific responsibility for the publication of the *American Sociological Review*, the official journal of the Society, or of

any other publications ordered by the Society. In carrying out these responsibilities it may appoint such subcommittees and Associate and Special-Issue Editors, and may associate with it such other members of the Society as the administration of these responsibilities may require.

SEC. 16.—The President and Secretary of the Society shall be respectively *ex officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Editorial Board. In the absence of either or both, the Editorial Board shall elect a Chairman and Secretary *pro tem*. In event of a vacancy occurring on the Editorial Board, it shall be filled by the Editorial Board until the next annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE IV. AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1.—Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the Society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society.

SEC. 2.—No final vote on any amendment to the By-Laws shall be taken until the amendment has been read and has lain on the table until the next subsequent business meeting.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

The secretary would like to notify the Society that the following amendments have been proposed and will be acted upon at the 1938 annual meeting.

"Article VIII, Section 2. A section of the society shall be composed of members of the society interested in a common field of sociological specialization, or may consist of an independent society or association devoted to a special field of sociology, a majority of whose members are members of the American Sociological Society. The constitution or by-laws of such an independent association must specify that it is a section of the American Sociological Society. Sections shall meet annually during the time of, and in the same city, as the annual meeting of the Society."

The amendment to this section is underlined.

"Article VIII. Section 5. By inserting after the word "sections," "except as provided in Section 2 above."

These amendments were proposed by the Rural Sociology section and were signed by the following members: C. E. Lively, Carl C. Taylor, J. H. Kolb, T. Lynn Smith and Dwight Sanderson.

The provisional constitution and by-laws of the newly organized Rural Sociological Society of America may be found in the March 1938 issue of *Rural Sociology*.

While amendments to the By-Laws do not have to be signed by five members nor presented to the members "at least one month before the annual meetings" as is the case with amendments to the Constitution, the following amendment to Article III, section 13, of the By-Laws is proposed by Malcolm Willey, Robert C. Angell, R. S. Lynd, Ruth Reed, Walter Lunden, M. H. Neumeyer, T. Lynn Smith and Walter T. Watson. Since it involves a rather important change in policy, it is presented for the information of the members.

Article III, section 13, of the By-Laws shall be amended to read:

"The Editorial Board of the Society shall be composed of the President and Secretary of the Society, an Editor and a Managing Editor to be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society, for two-year terms (the term of the Editor to begin with No. 2 of the volume of the year for which he is elected, and the term of the Managing Editor to begin June 30th of the year for which he is elected), and six additional members elected by the Society for three-year terms, two of which shall expire each year."

NEW MEMBERS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

- Mrs. Hannah Burr Arnold, 300 West 12th St., Apartment 5 G, New York, N. Y.
H. Harold Axworthy, 31 Enfield Ave., Montclair, N. J.
Dorothy Fahs Beck, 209 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D. C.
Purnell Benson, 1414 East 59th St., Chicago, Ill.
John W. Berry, 615 Burton Ave., Eureka, Ill.
Gordon Blackwell, 113 Crescent Ave., Greenville, S. C.
D. J. Blocker, Griffin Ave., Williamsburg, Va.
Lawrence H. Brown, Creighton University, Omaha, Neb.
Thomas P. Carpenter, 600 N. Euclid Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
B. F. Catherwood, Ithaca College, Ithaca, N. Y.
Egbert B. Clark, Jr., Santa Rosa Junior College, Santa Rosa, Calif.
Mrs. Thelma B. Crumley, Rutland, Ohio.
John F. Cuber, Department of Sociology, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.
Julius M. Elrod, Berry College, Mount Berry, Ga.
George F. Fitzgibbon, 35 Paisley Park, Dorchester, Mass.
Thomas Hancock Grafton, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Va.
Mary R. Greenfield, Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
S. Warren Hall, III, Box 1164, Stanford University, Calif.
Mrs. Caroline M. Hendricks, 180 West 1st N. St., Logan, Utah.
Rev. H. Ralph Higgins, St. Mark's Church, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Frederick Hopton, Jr., 4734 Butler St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Benjamin F. Hubert, Georgia State College Library, Industrial College, Ga.
H. Infeld, 14 West 68th St., New York, N. Y.
Ruth A. Inglis, 29 Radnor Hall, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Jewish People's Institute, 3500 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
M. E. John, 111 West Hamilton Ave., State College, Pa.
Franklin Johnson, 2913 Floyd Ave., Richmond, Va.
Mary A. Johnson, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fenton Keyes, 2772 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
Susan M. Kingsbury, 219 Roberts Rd., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Dudley Kirk, 48 A Conant Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall St., New York, N. Y.
Florence Kluckhohn, 48 A Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass.
Althea H. Kratz, Directress of Women, Bennett Hall, U. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa.
Andrew J. Kress, 4427 5th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
George K. Makecknie, 1 Dean St., Everett, Mass.
G. W. Melcher, University of Wichita, Wichita, Kan.
E. Y. Melekian, Battle Creek College, Battle Creek, Mich.
Harlan H. Miller, 23 East Welling Ave., Pennington, N. J.
J. L. Moreno, Beacon Hill Sanitarium, Beacon, N. J.
Mrs. Emily Mudd, 253 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry M. Muller, Haines Ave., Berlin, N. J.
John J. McClafferty, 485 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Rev. Gerald W. McMinn, St. Bonaventure College, Saint Bonaventure, N. Y.
Rev. John C. O'Connell, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
William M. Oman, Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Sol D. Ozer, 200 Douglas St., N.E., Washington, D. C.
Louisa Pinkham, 27 Ripley Terrace, Newton Centre, Mass.
Ruby Jo Reeves, 91 Howe St., New Haven, Conn.
Hans Riemer, 2111 North Delaware, Indianapolis, Ind.

Ormsbee Robinson, 5 West 65th St., New York, N. Y.
 David Rodnick, 17 Sylvan Ave., New Haven, Conn.
 Irwin T. Sanders, 512 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N. Y.
 J. P. Shalloo, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Russell G. Sholes, 10 Adirondack View, Middlebury, Vt.
 Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Office of Population Research, 20 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J.
 June V. Strother, 831 East 68th St., Seattle, Wash.
 Maragert Townsend, 1806 Autumn St., Memphis, Tenn.
 Lent D. Upson, Department of Sociology, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
 Alexander Von Schelting, Columbia University, Fayerweather 402, New York, N. Y.
 Bertha Wailes, Sweet Briar, Va.
 Gladys R. Walker, 481 Madison Ave., York, Pa.
 Edward J. Webster, 1124 11th St., N.W. Washington, D. C.
 Richard Hays Williams, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Logan Wilson, Apartment 1, 10 Agassiz St., Cambridge, Mass.
 W. Marguerite York, R.F.D. #1, Cary, N. C.

A COMMUNICATION RELATIVE TO RESEARCH

Since this matter may be acted upon at the next annual meeting, the following letter and resolutions are printed so that the whole membership of the Society may be informed. Through discussion in regional societies and between members perhaps an intelligent consensus of opinion may be arrived at before definitive action is taken.

February 14, 1938.

To members of the Executive Committee, the Research Planning Committee and the Editorial Board of the American Sociological Society:

As a constituent society of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Sociological Society should be vitally interested in the enclosed resolutions adopted on February 12th by the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the two Councils. These resolutions, which I was asked by my associates on the Committee to draft, represent a point of view in keeping with that which underlay the report of the Society's special committee on reorganization and research program in 1932. The important intervening developments, which give timeliness to the resolutions are first, the perfection of inexpensive substitutes for printing and, second, the establishment of the American Documentation Institute, as a non-profit agency of American science and scholarship.

Independently, but in line with these resolutions, proposals are being made to the governing body of one national society that its scientific Journal arrange with the American Documentation Institute for the reproduction on film strip of all basic materials underlying any published article; this is to be without charge either to the Journal or to the contributor. The contributor, however, is to be required to submit such materials for reproduction, if they exist, as a condition of publication of his article. The Institute anticipates reimbursement from its ability to supply a film copy or enlarged reproductions thereof, at low cost, to any interested purchaser. The Journal will benefit, once the plan is in operation, because of the many opportunities to substitute micro-film reproduction and distribution of tabular material for expensive type-set printing on its own pages.

I believe it would be an important step in the development of a scientific sociology, and would greatly enhance the prestige of the American Sociological Society, if its official publication, and other sociological publications, were to be among the first to perfect such arrangements. I suggest that any further inquiries or moves in this direction be addressed to Cuthbert Lee, Director, American Documentation Institute, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,
 Stuart A. Rice
 Central Statistical Board
 1319 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

A copy of the resolutions referred to in the above letter is here appended for the information of the Society.

WHEREAS, an obligation is recognized within the natural sciences for individual contributors to make fully available to their scientific associates for purposes of verification all data involved in, and a complete exposition of the methods employed in, any scientific work which is brought to the stage of publication; and

WHEREAS, the general absence within the social sciences of a recognition of this obligation restricts the possibilities of subsequent verification or extension of the conclusions arrived at by the contributor, thereby retarding the scientific development of these fields; and

WHEREAS, this absence is attributable both to the mores of social science and to the difficulties of publishing or depositing either the working data or adequate methodological statements concerning individual contributions to social science; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Joint Committee on Materials for Research strongly recommends to the Social Science Research Council, to the American Council of Learned Societies, to their constituent societies and to those responsible for the policies of the journals of these societies that each of them give consideration to ways of developing an effective consciousness of the obligation above named; and be it further

RESOLVED that the Joint Committee recommends that consideration be given to the availability of the American Documentation Institute as an agency through which the data and methods underlying any published contribution to the social sciences may be made available to other social scientists.

(Adopted upon the motion of Stuart A. Rice by the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council at a meeting in Washington, D. C., February 12, 1938.)

Subscriptions and Memberships. With our membership at the lowest point in recent years, the actual and imminent secession of several groups interested in special fields, and the development of regional societies, most of whose members are not members of the Society, the present financial condition and future prospects of the *Review* in particular and of the Society in general are far from satisfactory. If we had four or five hundred additional members we could get along fairly well.

Every regional society should adopt for its slogan: "*One Hundred Percent Membership in the American Sociological Society.*" Every member should make a definite personal effort to get at least one new subscriber and as many student and faculty memberships as possible. Every public and academic library in the United States should be a subscriber. Readers should write the H. W. Wilson Company asking that the *Review* be indexed in the *Readers' Guide*. Every member should be on the lookout for possible donations and bequests to the Society. Sociologists should apply what they know about morale.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Editorial Bow. The editor approaches his two-year sentence to hard labor with considerable misgiving. He appreciates the honor conferred by the Society but he also realizes that it conferred much hard work and some unpleasant duties.

The able editorship of Professor Hankins makes the present editor's position both easier and more difficult; easier, because most of the technical problems have been solved and because Professor Hankins has given invaluable advice and assistance; more difficult, because he has set such a high standard. If the present high quality of format and content can be maintained, the present editor will feel that he has served his sentence well and should be honorably discharged.

However, he hopes the Society will exercise Christian charity at least until next fall. Because of commitments made before election, he will be wandering over the face of the land. This great physical mobility may partially disorganize both the *Review* and the editor's personality.

Needless to say, he will strive to make the *Review* serve the best interests of the Society and the developing science of sociology. To this end, members are invited to make constructive suggestions; especially, to state frankly all their negative criticisms. Tell it to the editor instead of to others; he "can take it."

Editorial Principles. The editor feels there should be some general principles to guide the Board in its consideration of manuscripts. It is hoped that the following tentative statements, upon which we are in substantial agreement, will insure a degree of uniformity in our judgments and possibly be of some value to authors.

1. Articles should be primarily research contributions.
2. Articles dealing with method and theory should *cite* rather than review the literature. Most of the space should be used for the presentation of the new theory or method.
3. Whenever possible, investigations should be reported so that other investigators can test the results. Sociology needs many repeated researches on carefully defined and delimited problems.
4. Articles should be as short as possible. Literary diction, figures of speech, obscurity, wordiness and extended quotations should be avoided.

5. As far as possible, the existing sections and divisions of the Society and the various theoretical and methodological points of view should be represented in the articles published.

Suggestions to Contributors. It is desirable that the *Review* maintain a certain uniformity in style. In general, the present format and editorial policy will be continued. *Webster's New International Unabridged* is the authority for spelling, compound and foreign words, proper names and abbreviations. *Percent* is one word. For abbreviations of the periodicals, *Social Science Abstracts* is the standard.

All manuscripts should be clearly typed and double-spaced on 8½ by 11 paper with a minimum of longhand corrections.

Footnotes should be included in the body of the manuscript, set off by cross-page lines, double spaced and numbered serially. Periodical citations should give date rather than volume; if latter is given, it always should be preceded by date. Title of article should be set off by quotes and the names of periodicals italicized. All book titles should be italicized, with unitalicized place and date of publication. Page or chapter citations should follow the title of books but the date of periodicals. Omit publisher's name. Examples may make this clearer.⁷ It will be noted that the author's given

⁷ J. H. Doe, "An Ecological Study of the Indices of Urban Disorganization," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Nov. 1938, 864-871; R. H. Roe, "Pawnshops in Chicago," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Oct. 1937, 2:821-830; see also, J. H. Doe, and R. H. Roe, *Urban Disorganization*, chap. 4 and 342-349, 2d ed., New York, 1934.

name (preferably, initials) precedes his surname, both for articles and books, and that cited pages are not preceded by pp.

Charts and cuts should be clearly drawn to scale. Authors must pay for these at about \$5.80 for half-tone and \$4.25 for line cuts per full page. Smaller cuts than page size are proportionately less expensive. Authors can obtain the cuts for which they have paid by notifying the editor immediately after publication. The publisher will send the etching blocks C.O.D. to authors.

Tabular material is paid for by the *Review* but since it is costly, tables should be as concise as possible and seldom exceed one page. Tables should be properly constructed, titled concisely in small capitals and numbered serially. Arabic numbers should be used for tables, charts, volumes and chapters.

Thanks. On behalf of the Society, the editor wishes to thank Harvard University, and especially the Department of Sociology, for the use of office space, stenographic material and equipment, files, etc., from January to June.

CURRENT ITEMS

NOTICES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

American Documentation Institute, which operates Bibliofilm Service, has served over 2500 scholars with about 7000 items totalling hundreds of thousands of pages since 1934. This is a non-profit document copying service on 35 mm. film or 6×8 photoprints made therefrom. The cost is one cent per page for film or ten cents for photoprints. Address: Bibliofilm Service, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington, D. C.

The American Sociological Society will hold its 1938 annual meeting at Detroit, Michigan, December 28, 29, 30. The hotel at which the meeting will be held and the tentative program will be announced as soon as possible.

Baltic and Scandinavian Countries, a quarterly published at Gdynia, Poland, has recently appointed an American editorial board consisting of E. George Payne, Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. The magazine prints historical, ecological and sociological studies concerning the Scandinavian and Baltic countries and their emigrants.

A Conference on the Conservation and Development of Human Resources, under the chairmanship of Eduard C. Lindeman met in Washington, D. C., March 3-5. Nineteen major papers were given by some of the outstanding authorities in the fields of health, family, war, crime, housing, social work, religion, education and economics. Each paper was the subject of general discussion. As an introduction to each session, Professor Lindeman summarized the material presented in the preceding meeting.

Instruction in Chinese. If you want to learn Chinese, read the announcement below under the University of Michigan news.

International Criminology Society will hold its first International Congress in Rome at the end of September, 1938. Six themes will be discussed, the first three of which "will call forth resolutions." These are: 1. Etiology and diagnosis of juvenile delinquency and the effects of such research on legal institutions; 2. Personality of the criminal; 3. The criminological preparation of the judge and his role in the fight against delinquency; 4. Criminal prophylaxis in various countries; 5. Ethnology and criminology; 6. Precautionary measures in various countries.

Reports must be sent in Italian, French, German, English or Spanish not later than April 30, 1938, to Giovanni Novelli, President of the Executive Committee of the Congress, Rome, Italy.

National Archives. *The Third Annual Report of the Archivist*, 1937 (175 pages), includes reports of The National Archives, the report to the Works Progress Administration, and finally, a guide to all accessions through June 30, 1937. Besides describing the records, the guide gives such administrative history as seems necessary, indicates restrictions upon use of records, mentions existing inventories and other aids, and suggests bibliographical references.

Soil Conservation Service. The Indian Reservations have been included in the program of the Soil Conservation Service. This requires an adaptation of its land-use programs to the peculiarities of some of the Indians. Since July, 1937, Dr. Maurice T. Price has been Acting Head of the Human Dependency Unit, Bureau of Indian Affairs. This unit is concerned primarily with making surveys of land ownership, land tenure, land use, income and social organization.

REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEETINGS

The Eastern Sociological Society met at Poughkeepsie, New York, April 16-17, 1938 as a guest of Vassar College. Five main papers were given with ample discussion of each. A general meeting on research was also held. C. G. Dittmer of New York University is president.

The Mid-West Sociological Society. Annual meeting will be held at Des Moines, Iowa, on April 21-23. Discussions will center about the administration of the Social Security Act in the Midwest, the teaching of elementary sociology, individual and cooperative general and regional research. Professor J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, has succeeded L. Guy Brown, now at Oberlin, as president of the society.

Ohio Sociological Society will meet at Columbus on April 29-30. About one hundred fifty sociologists from Ohio and neighboring states will be in attendance. Professor F. E. Lumley is president.

Pacific Sociological Society. The Ninth Annual Meeting was held at Pomona College, Claremont, California, December 28-30, 1937. President George B. Mangold had prepared a varied program with special reference to applied sociology. Thirteen papers and discussions were given. The new president is Professor Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington.

Rural Sociological Society of America. At the recent meeting of the American Sociological Society at Atlantic City, the rural sociologists organized the Rural Sociological Society of America, with a provisional constitution. This is an autonomous organization, but if the proposed amendments to the constitution of the American Sociological Society are adopted, it will also be a section of that organization.

The officers are: President, Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University; vice-president, John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin; secretary-treasurer, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University; the two additional members of the Executive Committee are Carl C. Taylor, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics and C. E. Lively, Ohio State University. The new society will continue the publication of *Rural Sociology*, now in its third year, with the support of Louisiana State University.

Sociological Research Association. Three two-hour meetings were held in the Hotel Traymore, Atlantic City, December 28-30. *Middletown in Transition*, *Ideology and Utopia*, and *Later Criminal Careers* were discussed. The discussion was general since two papers on each of the three books had been circulated to all members early in December. Professor R. M. MacIver is the new president.

Southern Sociological Society. The Third Annual Meeting was held at Hotel Patten, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1 and 2, 1938, with the Tennessee Valley Authority and the University of Chattanooga acting as joint hosts. Fifteen papers and discussions were given. Professor Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, is president.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University of Arizona. Dr. E. D. Tetreau, professor of rural sociology, served as chairman of the oral examining board for the Arizona State Board of Social Security. Dr. F. A. Conrad, professor of sociology, also assisted.

Birmingham Southern College. Dr. W. L. Leap, recently at Huntington College, has been appointed associate professor and head of the department.

University of Cincinnati. Professor Eubank's article on "Sociology in Europe and America" (*Social Forces*, March 1937), has been published in the *Calcutta Review* and the *Czechoslovakian Sociologicka Revue*.

There are graduate students in the sociology department this year from eight American universities and The Sorbonne.

Clemson Agricultural College. Dr. Leonard Bloom is replacing Dr. H. C. Brearley, who is on leave of absence at the University of London on a Rosenwald Foundation fellowship.

Duke University. Hornell Hart has been elected professor of sociology, effective in September. At present, he is professor of social ethics at Hartford Theological Seminary. He will have charge of social anthropology at Duke.

Prentice-Hall announces the early publication of *The Story of Social Philosophy* by Professor Charles A. Ellwood. The book analyzes the scientific methods and doctrines of the great leaders in social thought from Plato to Ward.

Harvard University. Dr. Robert K. Merton has been appointed an associate editor of *Isis*, the international journal of the history of science. His department deals with the social aspects of science and invites contributions in this field.

Professor Kimball Young of Wisconsin and Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard will teach in the Summer School, July 5 to August 13. Professors P. A. Sorokin, E. B. Wilson and T. Parsons will be available for consultation with graduate students.

Indiana University. Professor Edwin H. Sutherland is conducting a graduate research course on "Neighborhood Backgrounds of Delinquency" for members of the state correctional institutions of Indiana. The University of Chicago Press has published *The Professional Thief* by a professional thief, Chic Conwell. The book was edited by Professor Sutherland.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Professor Edwin S. Burdell, Dean of the Division of Humanities, director of summer session and chairman of the Museum Committee, has been appointed director of the Cooper Union. Dean Burdell has long been closely connected with the adult education movement and by experience and interest is highly qualified for his new position. Perhaps it is a significant fact that Cooper Union has chosen a sociologist who is also an engineer for its new director.

University of Michigan. The American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, will offer intensive courses in the Chinese language at the University from June 27 to August 20, under the direction of Professor G. A. Kennedy of Yale University. The introductory course is designed to give a reading knowledge of modern Chinese in eight weeks. This was instituted in 1937 and proved highly successful. This year, a second-year course for advanced students is also being offered. A limited number of scholarships and grants-in-aid are available. Applications should be addressed to Jean W. Kennedy, 80 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut, not later than May first.

University of Minnesota. Dr. Pauline V. Young, University of Southern California, conducted an Institute on Probation and Parole during the last week in February. The seminar was limited to workers in the field of probation and parole. Dr. Young is the author of *Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency*, McGraw-Hill, 1937.

University of Nebraska. Professor John H. Mueller of the University of Indiana will be visiting professor in the summer session. Professor J. O. Hertzler, of this department, will teach at the University of Texas from June 7 to July 18.

New York University, Washington Square College. Professor R. E. Baber will teach summer school at the University of Washington.

Dr. George Vaillant of the Museum of Natural History, Mr. Clinton Areson, chief probation officer of the Domestic Relations Court, N. Y. C., and Dr. Bernard

Aginsky have been appointed as visiting lecturers in the department of sociology and anthropology for the year 1938-1939.

University of North Carolina. The Fourth Annual Conference on the Conservation of Marriage and the Family, Ernest R. Groves, Director, will be held at the University, April 12-15, 1938. Over twenty papers and discussions are on the program, copies of which can be obtained by writing to Professor Groves.

Ohio State University. Professor Denune is in charge of a committee which will conduct an "Institute for Social Living" for a selected group of fifty students during the winter quarter. This Institute was conducted last year with such success it had to be repeated. Dr. Denune will be off-duty in the spring quarter and Dr. Lumley during the winter quarter. John A. Reimers has been added to the School of Social Administration as assistant professor of social case work. McGraw-Hill has published *Community Backgrounds of Education*, by Dr. Lloyd A. Cook. This is designed as a text for educational sociology.

Southern Methodist University. Under the auspices of Alpha Kappa Delta, volume 2, number 2, of *Studies in Sociology* has appeared. It deals largely with the "Little Mexico" of Dallas and other sociological studies of that city. David G. Steinicke and Gwendolyn Crass are the editors, Professor Walter T. Watson, faculty adviser.

University of Washington. D. Appleton-Century announces the publication of *Metropolis*, a treatise on urban sociology by Howard B. Woolston. *A Research Memorandum on Recreation in the Depression* by Jesse F. Steiner was recently published by the Social Science Research Council. The Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies has published *Social Saga of Two Cities* by Calvin F. Schmid. This is a study of urban development in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Professor Jesse F. Steiner and Ellis Ash travelled 7000 miles to read papers at Atlantic City.

Summer Session: Professor R. E. Baber of New York University will give courses on The Family and Social Control. Norman S. Hayner will be at New York University and Jesse F. Steiner will be at the University of Michigan.

Washington State College. Edwards Brothers, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, announces the publication of *Three Iron Mining Towns, A Study in Cultural Change* by Paul H. Landis, associate professor of sociology.

Ginn and Company announces the publication of *Social Living, Principles and Problems in Introductory Sociology*, a high school text by Paul H. Landis, associate professor of sociology, and Judson T. Landis, fellow in the department of sociology, Louisiana State University.

University of Wisconsin. A two-year research on school broadcasting, financed by a special grant, will be conducted. Dean E. B. Fred of the Graduate School heads the committee which contains men from education, speech, and sociology. Professor T. C. McCormick, sociology, is special representative of the University Research Committee. The primary object of the research is to discover the place of the radio in the school and to appraise its importance in classroom education. The reason Wisconsin was chosen is the pioneering work in this field which has been done by WHA, a state broadcasting station.

Yale University. *The Bulletin of the Associates in the Science of Society*, January 1938, contains a letter "Concerning Germany" written by Professor Davie during his sabbatical leave in Europe. (This is one of the most interesting brief discussions of conditions in Germany that I have read.—R. B.)

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

HOWARD BECKER AND KIMBALL YOUNG
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Gideonse: <i>The Higher Learning in a Democracy</i> . Seth Wakeman.	249
Gosnell: <i>Machine Politics: Chicago Model</i> . John Brown Mason.	250
Burrow: <i>The Biology of Human Conflict</i> . Robert Bierstedt.	251
Bryan: <i>Administrative Psychiatry</i> . H. Warren Dunham.	253
Sletto: <i>Construction of Personality Scales by the Criterion of Internal Consistency</i> ; Davis: <i>The Development of Linguistic Skill in Twins, Singletons and Only Children from Age Five to Ten Years</i> ; Deutsche: <i>The Development of Children's Concepts of Causal Relations</i> ; Arsenian: <i>Bilingualism and Mental Development</i> , etc.; Enlow: <i>Statistics in Education and Psychology</i> , etc.; Buros: <i>Educational, Psychological and Personality Tests of 1933-1936</i> (two books). Walter C. Reckless.	254
Coignard: <i>The Spectacle of a Man</i> . John Dollard.	255
Reik: <i>Surprise and the Psychoanalyst</i> . H. S. Lippman.	256
Link: <i>Verstehen, Erkennen und Geist</i> ; von Wiese: <i>Sozial, geistig und Kulturell</i> . Howard Becker.	257
Plant: <i>Personality and the Cultural Pattern</i> ; Anderson: <i>Emotional Hygiene: The Art of Understanding</i> ; Brandt, et al: <i>Studies in Emotional Adjustment</i> . Joseph K. Folsom.	258
Huxley: <i>Ends and Means</i> . Otto F. Kraushaar.	259
Mannheim: <i>Ideology and Utopia</i> . Howard Becker.	260
Hobson: <i>Veblen</i> . Read Bain.	262
Dimock: <i>Rediscovering the Adolescent</i> . Paul H. Landis.	263
Brunner and Lorge: <i>Rural Trends in Depression Years</i> . C. E. Lively.	264
Anderson: <i>Rural Youth</i> , etc.; Oberholtzer: <i>American Agricultural Problems in the Social Studies</i> ; Fairbridge: <i>Pinjarra</i> , etc.; Lewis: <i>The Rural Community and Its Schools</i> . Lowry Nelson.	265
Davis: <i>The Lost Generation</i> . Miriam Van Waters.	267
Asch and Mangus: <i>Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation</i> ; Link, et al.: <i>Relief and Rehabilitation in the Drought Area</i> ; Taeuber and Taylor: <i>People of the Drought States</i> . J. M. Gillette.	268
Lancaster: <i>Government in Rural America</i> . Theodore B. Manny.	269
Bastide: <i>Éléments de sociologie religieuse</i> . Émile Benoît-Smullyan.	270
Pietter: <i>John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism</i> . Elizabeth K. Nottingham.	271
<i>Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber</i> ; Gifford: <i>Northeastern and Western Yavapai</i> ; Yale University Publications in Anthropology. Bernhard J. Stern.	272
Eggan: <i>Social Anthropology of North American Tribes</i> ; Junek: <i>Isolated Communities</i> , etc. Hortense Powdermaker.	274
Rawlinson: <i>The Church and the Challenge of To-Day</i> . Hornell Hart.	275
Harrison: <i>Savage Civilization</i> ; Radin: <i>Primitive Religion</i> . Gladys Bryson.	276
Hennig: <i>Terrae Incognitae</i> . Howard Becker.	278
Porteus: <i>Primitive Intelligence and Environment</i> . Frank H. Hankins.	279
Gulick: <i>Mixing the Races in Hawaii</i> . Frank H. Hankins.	279
Machin: <i>Darwin's Theory Applied to Mankind</i> . Frederick A. Bushee.	280
Barzun: <i>Race, A Study in Modern Superstition</i> . Earl E. Muntz.	280
Matthews: <i>Experience-Worlds of Mountain People</i> . Morris G. Caldwell.	281
Brawley: <i>Negro Builders and Heroes</i> . Elbridge Sibley.	282

BOOK REVIEWS

249

Patten: <i>The Arts Workshop of Rural America</i> ; White: <i>Highland Heritage</i> ; Eaton: <i>Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands</i> . Raymond F. Bellamy.....	283
Allen: <i>The Second United Order Among the Mormons</i> ; Evans: <i>Charles Coulson Rich: Pioneer Builder of the West</i> . Kimball Young.....	284
Schuchhardt: <i>Vorgeschichte von Deutschland</i> ; <i>Deutsche Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Bildern</i> ; <i>Alteuropa</i> . Howard Becker.....	285
Kluckhohn: <i>Die Idee des Volkes im Schrifttum der Deutschen Bewegung</i> . Hans Kohn.....	285
Anonymous: <i>The Brown Network</i> , etc.; Mason: <i>Hitler's First Foes</i> , etc. Hans Kohn.....	286
MacIver: <i>Society: A Textbook of Sociology</i> . Howard Becker.....	287
Mankiewicz: <i>Le National-socialisme allemand</i> , etc. Frank H. Hankins.....	287
Livi: <i>I Fattori Biologici Dell'Ordinamento Sociale</i> . E. D. Monachesi.....	288
Noack: <i>Geschichtswissenschaft und Wahrheit</i> ; <i>Katholizität und Geistesfreiheit</i> ; Jöhr: <i>Die ständische Ordnung</i> , etc.; Brake: <i>Wirtschaften und Charakter in der antiken Bildung</i> . Robert Bierstedt.....	289
Ber Borochov: <i>Nationalism and the Class Struggle</i> , etc.; Schneiderman: <i>The American Jewish Yearbook</i> , 5698. Samuel Koenig.....	291
Barnes: <i>A History of Historical Writing</i> . Robert Bierstedt.....	292
Sarton: <i>The History of Science and the New Humanism</i> . M. C. Otto.....	293
Matsumoto and Okada: <i>Sociology, Past and Present, in Japan</i> . Jerome Davis.....	294
Sabine: <i>A History of Political Theory</i> ; Cook: <i>History of Political Philosophy</i> ; Haney: <i>History of Economic Thought</i> ; Gough: <i>The Social Contract</i> ; Hook: <i>From Hegel to Marx</i> ; Weisbord: <i>The Conquest of Power</i> ; Trotsky: <i>Whither France?</i> ; <i>The Revolution Betrayed</i> ; <i>The 3d International After Lenin</i> . Howard Becker.....	295
Dombrowski: <i>The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America</i> ; Ruhmer: <i>Die ersten deutschen Genossenschaften</i> . Max Brauer.....	297
Jenkins: <i>Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South</i> . L. L. Bernard.....	299
Dopsch: <i>The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization</i> . Harry Elmer Barnes.....	299
Ensor: <i>England 1870-1914</i> . Hans Kohn.....	300
Sarkar: <i>Creative India</i> ; Mookerji: <i>Hindu Civilization</i> ; Hutchinson: <i>The Clear Mirror: A Pattern of Life in Goa and in Indian Tibet</i> . Haridas T. Mazumdar.....	301
Eyre: <i>European Civilization: Economic History Since the Reformation</i> . Harry Elmer Barnes.....	303
Burn: <i>The World of Hesiod</i> , etc. Robert K. Merton.....	304
Good, et al.: <i>The Methodology of Educational Research</i> ; Wattenberg: <i>On the Educational Front</i> , etc. Willard Waller.....	305
Hanke: <i>Handbook of Latin American Studies</i> . L. L. Bernard.....	307

The Higher Learning in a Democracy. BY HARRY D. GIDEONSE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. Pp. 34. 50¢.

In the minds of many there is a confusion between the Chicago Plan as actually in operation at the University of Chicago and the proposals for higher education made by President Hutchins of the University of Chicago. In *The Higher Learning in a Democracy* Professor Gideonse, the chairman of the Social Science course in the College of the University of Chicago, considers critically Mr. Hutchins' published statements and compares the current program of the University with Mr. Hutchins' personal views.

Mr. Gideonse believes many of the criticisms of higher education made by Flexner and Hutchins to have considerable merit, but he stresses the fact that it is not necessary to accept their proposed solutions. These he believes to be based upon a false understanding of higher education and its place in the life of this country. Mr. Hutchins pleads for a reorientation in higher education based upon one metaphysical tradition—the Platonic-

Aristotelian-Thomistic. Mr. Gideonse believes that this "reorientation is open to question because it is conceived and born in authoritarianism and absolutism, twin enemies of a free and democratic society. Acceptance of the curricular primacy of a set of first metaphysical principles would reduce science to dogma and education to indoctrination."

In particular, the author believes that Mr. Hutchins does not comprehend the scientific attitude or the part which it must play in higher education in general and especially in the University of Chicago. The attitude of the faculty of the College is expressed in *The Educational Objectives of the College in the University of Chicago* which was adopted by the faculty in 1934:

The ideal of a community of scholars and students recognizable as the University of Chicago is not compatible with that intolerance of liberal, scientific, and democratic attitudes which is characteristic of the anti-intellectual atmosphere of rationalistic absolutism.

For over forty years the University has led a distinguished existence without being officially committed to any single system of metaphysics, psychology, logic, religion, politics, economics, art or scientific method. To follow the reactionary course of accepting one particular system of ancient or medieval metaphysics and dialectic, and to force our whole educational program to conform thereto, would spell disaster. We cannot commit ourselves to such a course.

Mr. Gideonse is to be congratulated upon his courageous and penetrating criticism of Mr. Hutchins' widely publicized views, and it is to be hoped that it will be widely read so that the attitude of the faculty of the University of Chicago may be more generally known. To others also, not particularly interested in the controversy but concerned with general questions of higher education and the place of science in modern education, it is to be highly recommended.

SETH WAKEMAN

Smith College

Machine Politics: Chicago Model. By HAROLD F. GOSNELL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xii+229. \$2.50.

While the Tammany machine suffered reverses during the depression which made a profound impression upon the political life of New York, Chicago politicians have experienced but few fundamental changes in their outlook. To be sure, the 1936 precinct committeeman, as compared with his 1928 prototype, "was less of an employment broker, less of a tax-fixer, less of a traffic-slip-adjuster, but more of a go-between for the relief agencies and the various branches of the federal government" (p. 90). At the same time, he was not a New Dealer at heart, but rather a mere spoils politician like his Republican predecessor, leaving untouched the fundamental character of the party system in Chicago. Dr. Gosnell's book is concerned with the reasons for this "stability" during a time which elsewhere saw the rise of LaGuardia and the threat of Sinclair. His inquiry into the characteristics of the party machine and the party workers, and his

analysis of voting behavior in candidate and proposition elections, delves deeply into the life of Chicago. Here we have a metropolitan city which contains about as many people as Switzerland to-day, the entire United States at the time the federal constitution was being framed, and many more than all of ancient Greece. However, Dr. Gosnell's contribution goes further. As William F. Ogburn states in his Foreword, the book "is something new in the study of politics. It is new because it brings to political science the whole battery of scientific techniques of modern social science" (p. xi) which, in the past, have been used more sparingly in the field of political science than in economics, sociology and psychology. Armed with the scientific methods of trend lines, variance, multiple correlation and factorial analysis, Dr. Gosnell furnishes us with a model case history of Chicago machine politics—descriptive and analytical—which is based upon "a careful perusal of the Chicago newspapers for ten years, upon interviews which have been spaced over this period of time, upon personal observation of political meetings and election-day activities, upon participation in court trials, and upon observations made as an active party worker. . . . The present analysis is a highly condensed presentation of the main findings of a number of studies. Preliminary manuscripts on the operation of the referendum in Chicago and on the 1928 committeemen are each longer than this book itself. . . . Records were obtained regarding one hundred and seventy-five ward leaders and nine hundred precinct captains. . . ."

The results of these labors is an excellent study of the social and economic background of voting behavior in Chicago which is likely to serve as a guide-post for similar researches in other parts of the country. The paraphernalia of a research study, such as eleven elaborate maps and charts and twenty-four statistical tables, are pleasantly interspersed with the gifted author's pen sketches of Chicago politicians and reprints of pertinent political cartoons. The style of the book is largely non-technical and often good reading. The appendix contains sections on tables and forms, factorial analysis, formulas and equations, and a bibliography. The index is good.

JOHN BROWN MASON

Santa Ana (Calif.) Junior College

The Biology of Human Conflict. By TRIGANT BURROW. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. 435. \$3.50.

Subtitled "An Anatomy of Behavior, Individual and Social," this book extends and develops the thesis propounded in the author's *Social Basis of Consciousness*. Departing rather sharply from the individualistic treatments and theories of his fellow psychoanalysts, Burrow emphasizes throughout the social origin of neuroses and other nervous and mental diseases. As director of the Lifwynn Foundation, which gave him an opportunity to study a normal group in its normal reactions to the ordinary business of living, he became enamoured of the possibilities of group-analysis or, to use his own term, phyloanalysis. Psychoanalysts and psy-

chologists alike have too long concentrated upon that area of conflict localized within the patient's skin, thus ignoring the total aspect of the environment in which the individual moves and to which he reacts on the one hand, and the essentially human or racial bases of conflict on the other. To remedy these defects and to lay wider and deeper foundations for the solution of problems intrinsic to psychiatry and sociology alike, Dr. Burrow dedicates his book to "the spirit of creative coördination that is the essential motivation and meaning of man's organism." Several of the chapters, incidentally, are reprints and elaborations of articles previously published in professional journals.

At first glance a treatment of human behavior under the rubric "phylobiology" would seem to move in two disparate, if not antithetical, directions. In the first place the author asserts that the origin of functional disorders is in society and, in the second place, that man is an organic whole in an equally organic and total phylum the health of which is challenged and impaired by the necessity for symbolic behavior which living in society entails. In other words, the resolution of the mental ills and complexes of the individual is to be sought in an analysis of the environment, and restoration of social conflict is to be sought in the consideration of the organic and phyletic unity of man. With a skill that could only come from many years of clinical experience, and rendered gracious by a facility of handling some of the same symbols whose artificial use he deems to be dangerous, Burrow demonstrates that the two problems are actually only one. Before the introduction of symbols and the invention of language, man lived in such a state that he could respond as a total organism to a total environment upon presentation of a stimulus. With the development of civilization, however, his living became overlaid with a mass of symbols and symbolic reaction patterns which prevented him from responding in the pristine *total* manner and encouraged him to treat symbols as their own referents. Man's adaption and adjustment then became a vicarious process with retroactive physiological effects. The necessity for living with and reacting to symbols has caused a fundamental alteration in the inter-cortical areas and internal tensional disorders afflict not only one particular individual who reacts to particular symbols but the whole phylum. The remedy lies in "a basic physiological reorientation of the total organism in relation to the total environment." More specifically, substitution or creation of new symbolic reaction patterns will not work. Men must be "unconditioned" from the symbols to which they now artificially and partitively respond in order to ameliorate both the organic and the social conflicts which beset the phylum.

This thesis bears, in another frame of reference, a striking similarity to the back-to-nature movement of the eighteenth-century Rationalists. It is such a book as Rousseau might have written with benefit of a contemporary physiology text and graduate work with Freud. The author himself tries to block this conclusion, however, by disclaiming any intent to advocate a return to primitivism. Although symbols and partitive behavior patterns have caused all the trouble, there is no intimation that they must

be sacrificed in order to achieve the total reaction patterns of the phyletic point of view. The implications for sociology become clear. Conflicts originating in cultural situations and conditions induce deleterious physiological prototypes in the phylum which in turn lead psychiatrists and physicians to partial and half-correct diagnoses in terms of prodromal individual disorders. Encourage man as phylum to act and react again as an organic whole to a total situation and the difficulties and conflicts will begin to disappear. Although the author is a bit too consciously proud of his somewhat forbidding technical terminology together with a reputation—which he does not disavow—of being “hard to understand,” the book contains many stimulating suggestions and may be a theoretically useful tool for social pathologists. It does not, however, make clear the symbols and patterns from which man must be “unconditioned.” Furthermore, the act of reading the book itself is a partial response of a single individual to one set of symbols in a partitive environment.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

Columbia University

Administrative Psychiatry. By WILLIAM A. BRYAN. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1936. Pp. 349. \$3.50.

The close connection between State mental hospitals and State political machines has long been a problem to certain welfare workers. Because of this undesirable relationship, Dr. Bryan's book is a very hopeful sign. The ideas and suggestions expressed here are of a mature character and represent a significant, if not the first important contribution, to the generally lethargical condition of administrative psychiatry. In addition, Dr. Bryan shatters for all time the principle of low operation cost to which many hospital superintendents adhere, and in its place he substitutes the almost forgotten principle of therapy. The book should be helpful also in breaking down the isolation between the mental hospital and the larger community.

It is impossible within a short space to present any of the numerous practical suggestions and ideas Dr. Bryan has advanced for his administrative program. His conception of hospital administration has been nurtured from the literature on efficient management of industry. He feels that the desirable status for the mental hospital is a participating democracy in which the superintendent supplies the leadership and the department heads and other hospital personnel supply many of the ideas in conference with the superintendent. The Worcester State Hospital provides a splendid example where the operation of the ideas presented in this book have been developed and applied successfully.

The chapters on group psychotherapy, coordinated research, and public relationships should be of special interest to the social scientist. Dr. Bryan is enthusiastic for a cooperative attack on the numerous problems presented by the mental disorders by the various medical and social science disciplines. He emphasizes the much-reiterated point that money spent on research today will pay big dividends in the future.

For the most part, the book abounds in workable ideas for hospital superintendents. The book should be read carefully by every mental hospital superintendent and also by their department heads and other members of the personnel. This book contains a short bibliography and an index.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Chicago

Construction of Personality Scales by the Criterion of Internal Consistency. By RAYMOND FRANKLIN SLETT. Hanover, N.H.: The Sociological Press, 1937. Pp. vii+92. \$1.75.

The Development of Linguistic Skill in Twins, Singletons and Only Children from Age Five to Ten Years. By EDITH A. DAVIS. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1937. The Institute of Child Welfare Monograph Series No. 14. Pp. x+165. \$2.00.

The Development of Children's Concepts of Causal Relations. By JEAN MARQUIS DEUTSCHE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937. The Institute of Child Welfare Monograph Series No. 13. Pp. ix+104. \$2.00.

Bilingualism and Mental Development: A Study of the Intelligence and the Social Background of Bilingual Children in New York City. By SETH ARSENIAN. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 712, 1937. Pp. vi+164. \$2.10.

Statistics in Education and Psychology: A Combined Handbook and Textbook. By ELMER R. ENLOW. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. ix+180. \$2.75.

Educational, Psychological and Personality Tests of 1933, 1934, and 1935. By OSCAR K. BUROS. New Brunswick, N.J.: School of Education, Rutgers University, Studies in Education, No. 9, 1936. Pp. 83. 50¢.

Educational, Psychological and Personality Tests of 1936. By OSCAR K. BUROS. New Brunswick, N.J.: School of Education, Rutgers University, Studies in Education, No. 11, 1937. Pp. 141. 75¢.

Sletto has made a most important and very practical contribution to sociometrics. Sociological researchers who are developing or using measuring scales should get acquainted with this study in method.

Davis's monograph is excellently done. Verbatim pencil recordings of 50 consecutive remarks of children $5\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ years old to a test situation are analyzed by twin pairings, singleton, and only children in terms of the structural components of language. A sample of 436 school children is used, conforming to the occupational levels of the parental population of Minneapolis. Twins show language inferiority at the earlier ages, which is largely overcome at the higher ages. Only children are found to be superior in language skill.

Deutsche's monograph is likewise well done. A sample of 752 school children, not conforming so well to occupational levels of parental popu-

lation, is subjected to a group test, in which the children in third to eighth grades write their own explanations. The findings run counter to Piaget's earlier conclusions. Causal thinking is found to advance regularly with age and not in stages. Training is considered to be quite important in the development of causal thinking.

Arsenian's monograph gives the results of a significant study of bilingualism in a sample of Italian and Jewish school children of New York City. Bilingualism is found not to be related to mental ability. The situational background of bilingualism as a social phenomenon is very well covered and can be highly recommended for inspection by interested sociologists.

Enlow has prepared a handy, well condensed manual of standard statistical procedures, with many helpful derivations. There is no justification for calling the book "Statistics in Education and Psychology," since it contains no specialized adaptations of statistical devices.

Buros has made a painstaking classified inventory of recent tests of all sorts, in which each test is characterized, located and priced. The 1936 coverage brings the earlier coverage up to date and adds an important supplement, containing a classified index of books on measurement and an evaluation of each book. This sort of thing should be a boon to users of tests.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Vanderbilt University

The Spectacle of a Man. By JOHN COIGNARD. New York: Jefferson House, 1937. Pp. 252. \$2.50.

There is a dearth of good case material which illustrates or reveals the nature of the psychoanalytic process. Freud's own valuable case histories probably tend to overstress the childhood factors and to underweight the relevance of the current life of the individual. The Coignard book reverses this sequence, and shows neatly the necessity of examining both phases of the life in a careful history. This account is written by a doctor, under a pseudonym, about his patient, who is referred to as Harvesting. This amount of concealment apparently makes it possible to publish exceptionally intimate materials.

The patient suffered from stammering and excessive shyness and came to the analyst for treatment of these disorders. After a protracted and painful course of treatment, substantial therapeutic results were achieved. The daily clinical notes of the analyst and a running diary of the patient offer the materials on which this book was written.

It is, by the way, very pleasantly and sometimes powerfully written, and combines the attractiveness of a novelistic presentation with the concreteness of case material. It is recommended to sociologists as the "best thing of its kind" on the nature of the psychoanalytic interviewing process. It is probably unnecessary to report the cavillings which beset a fellow technician at some points.

JOHN DOLLARD

Institute of Human Relations, Yale University

Surprise and the Psychoanalyst. By THEODOR REIK. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1937. Pp. 294. \$3.50.

This book is essentially written for the student in psychoanalysis, and in some respects will have little meaning for those outside the field of psychoanalysis. It represents the results of many years of clinical experience and research by an observer who has tested his hypotheses in a large number of clinical investigations before publishing his findings. He has succeeded in throwing light on several poorly understood analytic concepts, especially those dealing with the methods by which the psychoanalyst becomes aware of the unconscious material in his patient. To the analyst, therefore, this book will be of inestimable value.

Many subjects are discussed which should be of interest to the psychologist who is not doing psychoanalytic work but who has been interested in the literature on this subject. The discussion of attention, memory, surprise, wit, and shock should be both interesting and helpful to any student of academic psychology and behavior.

Reik describes how in analyzing the patient, the psychoanalyst not only must use the conscious mechanisms which play a part in any interview, but also unconscious ones. He divides the latter into those perceptions that take place by means of the usual sense organs—such as trifling movements and gestures, physical attitudes, voice changes, and a large number of forms of expression which register meaning to the analyst though he is not conscious of them at the time. In addition to these, he feels it is very probable that we receive tidings of the unconscious by senses which have been lost to consciousness. During the process of civilization these senses have developed with the increasing tendency to repress. It is the function of the psychoanalyst to get at these repressed ideas and conflicts if he is to be helpful to his neurotic patient.

Reik discusses voluntary and involuntary attention. The former is the kind that is used in investigative work outside of psychoanalysis. The investigator is conscious of what he is doing and sets about to gather certain data. Reik insists, as Freud has shown, that the attention of the psychoanalyst must be to a great extent of an involuntary nature. He must be prepared to entertain any formulation made by the patient, no matter how bizarre, peculiar, or unrelated it appears to be to the material presented. The psychoanalyst responds not only consciously but also through his unconscious to the unconscious material presented by the patient. Forced, fixed attention on the part of the psychoanalyst will result in his being unable to appreciate or recognize the patient's unconscious thoughts and fantasies. He must yield to free association and abandon the idea of a preconceived goal. Only later, by way of a testing process, must he work over his material, ordering and scrutinizing it and arranging it in logical sequence. In this connection, Reik explains that the neurotic patients who are unable to concentrate are actually concentrating very hard in the wrong direction; namely, on their unconscious fantasies.

The reaction of surprise occurs to the patient whenever repressed material enters into consciousness. Reik regards this as a defense mechanism

which helps to prepare the patient to accept this painful material. If it were not painful or unacceptable to the total personality of the patient it would not have had to suffer repression. There is a similar reaction of surprise to the analyst when the patient's repressed material becomes conscious to him, the analyst. Successful analyses demand repeated surprises and shocks to the patient and the analyst.

Reik contrasts remembering with memory. He describes memory as consisting of a large number of memory traces, and the function of memory is to preserve certain impressions by means of these memory traces. These are either too painful to be borne and are therefore repressed, or are too intense or sudden to be mastered at once. One of the functions of repression is to act as a defense when the mental apparatus is unable to deal adequately with the demands made upon it. Remembering, on the other hand, destroys these unconscious memory traces. It is only when we have remembered a memory that we can truly forget it. The analyst in bringing up the memory traces succeeds in removing painful conflicts responsible for the neurosis.

A more detailed review of this book, by H. Mayor, will be found in the *International Journal for Psychoanalysis*, Vol. XVII, 1936, page 126. The reader is also referred to an illuminating article on the subject dealt with in *Surprise and the Psychoanalyst* by Reik, entitled "New Ways in Psychoanalytic Technique." It appears in the *International Journal for Psychoanalysis*, Vol. XIV, 1933, page 321.

H. S. LIPPMAN, M.D.

Amherst H. Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul, Minnesota

Verstehen, Erkennen, und Geist. By PAUL F. LINK. Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft M. B. H., 1936. Pp. 44. RM2.

Sozial, geistig und kulturell. By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Leipzig: Hans Buske Verlag, 1936. Pp. 31. RM 0.90.

The Neo-Positivists, under the leadership of Carnap and others, have been making much noise of late. To those not quite convinced of the entire validity of the Neo-Positivist thesis, there comes to mind the old proverb: "The Devil began to shear a pig and spake thus: 'Great cry and little wool.'" The brochure by Linke, *Verstehen, Erkennen, und Geist*, is strongly to be recommended to all who hope to diminish the uproar. Linke demonstrates, to the satisfaction of one reader at least, that neither the extreme objectivists nor the intuitionists can sustain their contentions. Mere insight is insufficient, but objectivity patterned on the physical sciences is also sadly wanting. All knowledge proceeds from the irrational psychological basis, but to be knowledge in the strict sense, it must be verified by reference to phenomena concerning which something can be genuinely communicated. This means the protagonists of "statistical measurement of the real world" are in the same boat as those upholding insight; the starting-point is the same. The error of the objectivists lies in the assump-

tion that the starting-point is objective; the error of the subjectivists lies in the belief that insight needs no verification through the customary methods of causal inference. Little exception can be taken to Linke's analysis; it is careful, concise, and goes to the heart of the matter. There is no index, but such an aid is quite superfluous for only 44 pages.

In Germany the terms "social," "mental," and "cultural" have connotations somewhat different from those prevalent in the United States. Leopold von Wiese has endeavored to bring order out of the Germanic confusion, and has succeeded. At the same time, it must be said that his effort has very little bearing on current American thought; we do not exalt *Geist*, nor do we attach the same ethical or quasi-religious meanings to *Kultur*. The present discussion has been translated into English and is available in the *British Sociological Review*, April, 1937.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Personality and the Cultural Pattern. By JAMES S. PLANT, New York: The Commonwealth Fund. 1937. Pp. x+432. \$2.50.

Emotional Hygiene: The Art of Understanding. By CAMILLA M. ANDERSON. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1937. Pp. viii+242. \$2.00.

Studies in Emotional Adjustment. By HYMAN BRANDT, HAROLD M. WILLIAMS and HAROLD S. CARLSON. Edited by GEORGE D. STODDARD. IOWA City: University of Iowa. Pp. 6+102. \$1.00.

Dr. Plant's book stresses once more his conviction that the psychiatrist can cure many cases only by changing the social environment itself and not by re-educating them to accept their environment as it is, and points out those aspects of modern urban culture which he holds particularly responsible for the increased tensions and maladjustments of modern life. These generalizations are typical: "Personality and environment are mutually impinging sets of forces and there is a constant stream of action and interaction in which each new pattern reacts in turn on its determinants . . . desired changes in the total picture can, we assume on this basis, be more simply and more effectively initiated at the cultural than at the individual level." "Perhaps the psychiatric assumption that integration is needful is in error. If not, these various threats to the integration of the personality represent individually an unhealthy trait or tendency, and if these social forces of increasing urbanization are forever fostering them, we are presented with a grave problem, predicting early and serious human breakdown unless compensating ways of attaining this necessity can be found."

Dr. Plant's selection of what seems to him the important dimensions or traits of human personality is based upon his fourteen years or more of clinical experience in the Essex County Juvenile Clinic of Newark, N.J., and elsewhere. This analysis seems more real than those which are derived from statistical manipulations; certainly it is an important check upon other analyses by statistical or "insight" methods.

Many sociologists will probably feel that while Dr. Plant has made a most valuable step away from individualistic psychiatry toward a recognition of the social environment, yet he does not fully exploit all the implications of the term "culture" about which he so freely speaks. He has, for example, a great deal to say about the basic security need to know "who one *is*," without pointing out that the concepts and patterns relating to name, family, legitimacy and illegitimacy, and so forth, are matters of specific cultures, varying independently of urbanization or complexity.

In general, this book represents a landmark in the growing integration of sociology and psychiatry.

Dr. Anderson's book is a popular, elementary, and very attractive presentation of well-known principles of mental hygiene, illustrated by cartoon drawings. It was written primarily for members of the nursing profession, although it is quite useful for the general reader. The use of the accurately descriptive title "Emotional Hygiene" in place of the hackneyed and inaccurate "mental hygiene" is to be warmly commended. A pronouncing glossary at the rear of the book adds to its usefulness.

Studies in Emotional Adjustment presents some new efforts to measure certain factors statistically. Dr. Brandt devised a test which seeks to elicit the considerations which the subjects feel influence their choices between important values. There appears to be a correlation of about $+ .29$ between intelligence and "evasiveness," that is, the tendency to judge an issue by what to the authors seem personal and opportunistic considerations rather than the basic moral values involved! One feels that the authors and the editor have failed to accept the implications of their own research as to the nature of morals and the conflicting values of modern culture. Dr. Williams manipulates word-association test scores statistically and finds a measure in terms of velocity of psychological function which he thinks is better than previous measures. Dr. Carlson compares Iowa delinquents and felons with those studied by the Gluecks and others; this study has little relation to the others in the volume.

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

Vassar College

Ends and Means. By ALDOUS HUXLEY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. Pp. 386. \$3.50.

Aldous Huxley, whose prolific writing in the fields of poetry, the essay, and the novel commands a large and admiring audience, now offers a book on moral and social reform—one that is likely to provoke a good deal of controversy. He focuses attention upon the gravest moral issue of this generation: the wide-spread disposition to believe that we can achieve ends which we believe to be good by means which we know quite clearly to be abominable. There has long been agreement, the author avers, upon ultimate ends; in the Golden Age, peace, liberty, justice, and brotherly love will prevail. Today, more than ever, we mean to take a shortcut to Utopia by way of war and violence. History and the present world situa-

tion furnish Mr. Huxley with evidence which is more than ample to sustain this thesis.

Real progress, the author contends, is progress in charity. The reconstruction of our political and economic system can contribute towards such progress; but progress will become real and sure only when we grapple with evil at its source—when we, that is, rectify the wills of the individuals who compose society. The ideal and truly progressive man is the non-attached man, the man who is unenslaved by his passions, and who in virtue of his freedom becomes a positive embodiment of the social virtues.

In expounding the practical means by which man is to be drilled in non-attachment and awareness, Mr. Huxley rambles about among the problems of social planning, decentralization in industry and politics, the causes and cure for war, the handling of natural inequalities in a free society, education, ethics, and religion. The chapters devoted to these subjects are very uneven and not very persuasive. In the last three chapters of the book he offers a somewhat loose defense of cosmic spiritual values, and ends in the embrace of "rational mysticism." How this position bears upon the scheme of reform is far from apparent. Certainly it is not necessitated by that scheme.

This book will not appeal to professional intellectuals, to the academically minded, or to scholars who insist above all on a technical and rigorous logic. It is not addressed to them. The author, happily under no illusions concerning his results, will be accused of being shallow, journalistic, unlearned, raw, impractical, and utopian. He is all of these things in spots. Prophecy and synthesis is always more or less open to these attacks. Mr. Huxley is not attempting a scholarly account of social trends; he is trying to *do* something about those trends. And in a world like ours today, which seems bent on extirpating every higher view of man both in theory and practice, the general direction of Mr. Huxley's argument is refreshing indeed. His central thesis, the impossibility of promoting peace and charity by means of poison gas and machine guns, will remain to plague those realists and idealists who are so sure they can save the world with slaughter and murder. It is most unfortunate that the rest of the book is not up to this thesis.

OTTO F. KRAUSHAAR

Smith College

Ideology and Utopia. By Karl Mannheim, translated by LOUIS WIRTH and EDWARD A. SHILS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936. Pp. xxxi + 280. \$4.00.

After the comprehensive review of *Ideologie und Utopie* by Alexander von Schelting in Volume I, Number 4, of this journal, little remains for the present reviewer to say except to underscore points already advanced.

In general, Mannheim's book is an effort to analyze rationalizations and "wishful thinking" arising from biases of class, party, nationalism, and the like. Except for the fact that the diagnosis is sociological rather than psy-

chological, one is inevitably reminded of Henshaw Ward's trenchant exposé of "thobbing." (We all *think* out the *opinion* that pleases us and then *believe* it.) It would be unjust to Mannheim, however, to align him with the psychoanalysts or with Ward, for he rightly points out that a bias may upon occasion be useful. The fact that some one has undergone experiences of a peculiar character which he has then rationalized *may* mean that as a consequence he is able to direct our attention to previously unnoted and entirely valid realms of sociological theory. To be sure, Mannheim is not always entirely consistent in his attitude toward bias, but his discussion of "perspective" implies the conclusion above stated.

The English version has been augmented by an excellent preface by one of the translators, Louis Wirth, a new introduction by Mannheim, and a translation of the latter's article from the *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*. The handbook article, in particular, tones down some of the more extreme statements made in the original volume, and perhaps should be read first.

In order adequately to understand Mannheim, one must remember that he began as a scholarly Marxist, developed discontent with the Revisionist interpretations current in German Social-Democracy, and became uneasy about the validity of his doctrines when confronted by Max Weber's trenchant critique. He has done his best to salvage the notion of the dialectic, using for the purpose the terminology but not the substance of phenomenology and modern sociology. He has attempted to find a haven from the relativistic flux in his assertion that "socially unbound intellectuals" (of whom he is presumably one) can formulate theories that are in line with the "next stage" of historical development and are hence pragmatically true. Wherein does this differ from the Marxian assertion that the "proletarian vanguard" foresees the day of salvation? One social grouping has been substituted for another—that is all. If valid social science is "borne" only by the esoterically initiated, who is to decide the issue of the inevitable conflict of ideas?

In spite of these reservations, it is a pleasant duty to record the undoubted merits of the book. Even though it presents ideas with which we are all more or less familiar, the new angle from which they are approached defines issues more clearly than we have heretofore been accustomed to doing. Further, the translation is of high quality. It is accurate without painful literalness, and those unskilled in German can place full confidence in the English version. The style is clear and straightforward, and is not lacking in those idiomatic turns of expression that make all the difference between a mere translation and a version that has literary merits of its own. Some indication of the responsibilities respectively borne by the translators would have been useful, but their roles may have been so intertwined that this was technically impossible. One must regret, however, the omission from the bibliography of some of the important critical literature, such as Alexander von Schelting's articles in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. It is also unfortunate that the translators did not devote more than an occasional footnote to the work of the Durkheim school in dealing with somewhat similar problems. Max Scheler,

the real founder of the sociology of knowledge, was much influenced by Durkheim and his collaborators, so that even exclusive attention to the German tradition does not wholly absolve either Mannheim or the translators.

But all in all, we can only be thankful for the labor of love that Wirth and Shils have so successfully carried through.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Veblen. By J. A. HOBSON. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1937. Pp. 227. \$1.60.

It should be a notable event when a man like Hobson writes on a man like Veblen, but this book is somewhat disappointing. Hobson calls Veblen "one of the most brilliant, independent and penetrative thinkers of our age," "one of the great sociologists of our time," and makes other laudatory remarks, but one feels that Veblen is called "sociologist" largely because the book is in a series of "Modern Sociologists." One would think such a series should be written by sociologists rather than by philosophers (*Comte* is by F. S. Marvin) and economists, even if the latter are "social" economists like Hobson—who calls Veblen a sociologist but treats him primarily as an economist. In spite of this, *The Theory of Business Enterprise* is never mentioned, not even in a footnote.

The only justification for such a series is to introduce readers to the works of the writer under discussion or to present a systematic criticism and evaluation of his work. It is doubtful whether Hobson's book will induce many people to read Veblen. The danger of "books about other books" is that if they are very well done by eminent men, one tends to accept the exegesis in lieu of the original; if not well done, one still tends to neglect the original. In any case, an indispensable part of such a book is a complete bibliography of the original author's works; this is lacking in Hobson's *Veblen*.

In a few places, it is not clear whether Hobson is expounding Veblen or Hobson. This is another difficulty with "books about other people's books," especially when written by eminent and able scholars like Hobson. Should such books merely *present* the system of the original author, or should they *criticize* it? If one attempts to do both, especially in 227 pages, he will usually fail. In such a case, one deliberately should limit himself to a critique or to a clear presentation of the system.

Space prevents the mention of more than a few points about the book. Had a sociologist been writing on Veblen, it is unlikely that he would have condemned him for being "too content with such a general setting" of the instinct problem as Veblen adopts. Most American sociologists would prefer Veblen's position to Hobson's statement that "propensities and habits . . . are ultimately rooted in biological utilities, and the pleasurable emotions which accompany their activities . . . may be taken as true registers of those utilities" (p. 36). Likewise, I at least do not agree that Veblen overemphasized the effects of machinery on thoughtways, espe-

cially when "machinery" means "all the technological devices in a culture," which I think was clearly Veblen's intention. Hobson attacks Veblen's theory of "capitalistic sabotage" and discounts his prediction of the depression on the ground that it is not a *theoretically* necessary outcome of business enterprise (pp. 131-132). That the depression came is a fact and it is highly probable that others will come because of the economic and non-economic factors which Veblen so realistically described. It is in such matters that a sociologist would be more likely to do justice to Veblen than even such an unorthodox economist as Hobson. The same is true of Hobson's analysis of Veblen's ideas about nationalism and patriotism. This whole chapter on the "Field of Politics" strikes me as the least satisfactory in the book. Hobson accepts the popular myth that American public business is so full of graft and corruption that a gradualistic transition to a "socialistic" economy is less likely here than in Europe. One might point out that Europe has not done so very well in this respect itself. We may delay too long, or never do it at all, but it will be for other reasons than this hoary bugaboo. Hobson also makes a good deal of the conspicuous-waste explanation of the automobile. Few American sociologists would accept this as a satisfactory account of the growth of the automobile complex; we would be more inclined to examine the whole theory of conspicuous consumption as an over-intellectualistic simplification of social behavior in many fields.

In short, it would seem not only reasonable but highly desirable that "Modern Sociologists" should be written by sociologists. This is especially true when borderline cases like Veblen are being discussed. We must agree with Hobson that Veblen had a very penetrating and original mind, but we must contend that he was primarily an economist who saw quite clearly what most economists still fail to see or at least to understand, namely, that social life is largely a non-logical business and that these non-logical factors in all phases of social behavior are intimately connected with economic behavior, and that the latter cannot be understood rightly by mere definitions and syllogisms and the logical manipulation thereof. Veblen punctured a lot of orthodox economic verbal-gas balloons, but there are still many freely-floating ones waiting to be punctured. Unfortunately, economic balloons are manufactured much faster and more frequently than Veblens.

READ BAIN

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Rediscovering the Adolescent. By HEDLEY S. DIMOCK. New York: Association Press, 1937. Pp. xx+287. \$2.75.

This work at many points lays the foundations for a much needed sociology of adolescence. Several of its findings verify a view that many sociologists have held with considerable confidence since the appearance of Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*; that is, that the turmoil and conflict experienced by the adolescent in our culture probably arises from his experience with the external world rather than from the rapid accumu-

lation of internal organic, emotional, and psychological impulses to which it is attributed in most of the literature since the epoch-making adolescent psychology of G. Stanley Hall. Other of its findings entirely deny many psychological and emotional changes that are supposed to accompany puberty.

Rediscovering the Adolescent gets its title from the author's feeling that the emphasis on child study in recent years has made us lose sight of the adolescent and his problem. It reports the results of a three-year research project which followed the development of 200 adolescent boys in the cities of Milwaukee and Kenosha, Wisconsin. At the outset all the subjects were 12 to 14 years of age, and most of them were prepubescent. At the end most of them had passed puberty. A great number of physical, mental, emotional, and personality tests were given them by eleven Y.M.C.A. secretaries. With one exception, where no appropriate tests were available, standard tests, the reliability of which has been demonstrated by others, were employed.

Although the material is presented in semi-popular form, the author indicates briefly the method and tools employed on each problem and the specific results obtained. Pictographs are used extensively to supplement the text and tabular data. Some of the findings are of particular interest to the sociologist. For instance: except for a marked spurt in physical growth around the time of puberty, there seems to be little change in the rate of growth of social, psychological, moral, or religious traits. There is a tendency for the number and diversity of activities in which boys engage to decrease with increased age. Pubescence has a negligible influence on play behavior. Boys well adjusted socially come from homes of decidedly superior socio-economic status. Boys small in physical growth are least adjusted socially and emotionally.

The study deals with a restricted universe—a normal urban group of male adolescents. This limitation is a virtue from the viewpoint of sound research procedure. The conclusions cannot, however, be given universal applications even in the American culture milieu. It is very probable that the problems of adjustment of rural adolescents and of girls may be in some respects quite different. The study opens a new method of approach to the study of all adolescent groups.

PAUL H. LANDIS

Washington State College

Rural Trends in Depression Years. By EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER and IRVING LORGE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi+387. \$3.25.

This volume reports the results of the second resurvey of 140 "village-centered agricultural communities" in the United States. These villages, surveyed for the first time in 1923 and again in 1929, had a regional distribution that approximated that of the rural population at the time of the first survey. The third study, made primarily for the purpose of revealing

the changes that had occurred during the depression years, was also intended to add another chapter to the life history of these villages. The report, presented in 14 chapters with 117 tables, covers the major phases of social life in these village communities.

The book, however, is no mere survey report. Proceeding from the assumption that these villages interpret the country to the city and the city to the country, the field data of the survey provide merely a base of primary data upon which to build. Secondary materials are freely used, and the discussion is broadened to include, directly or indirectly all phases of agriculture and rural life, as the title indicates. The final chapter attempts to state the implication of the findings for social action and emphasizes democratic social planning.

With this third study of the same villages, the authors have established three points in a time series. Had social conditions been more nearly normal in recent years one might be inclined to the view that these points are too close together in time to reveal much in the way of trends. The need for such information probably justifies the effort, however. It is of considerable interest to note that in this series of three studies of agricultural villages, Dr. Brunner and his associates have made an attempt to build a rural sociology upon the village as the focal point. To date, rural sociology has been built around the farmer, primarily. Apparently Dr. Brunner began his series for the purpose of developing the sociology of the village, which has been somewhat neglected in the United States. Both the 1929 report and the one under review, however, have tended to encompass the whole of rural life viewed from the village as a center. Such a contribution is a welcome one. It cannot fail to strengthen the growing sociology of rural life.

C. E. LIVELY

Ohio State University

Rural Youth: Activities, Interests and Problems. Part II. Unmarried Young Men and Women, 15-29 Years of Age. By W. A. ANDERSON. Cornell University Experiment Station, January, 1937. Free.

American Agricultural Problems in the Social Studies. By KENNETH E. OBERHOLTZER. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 718, 1937. Pp. 119. \$1.60.

Pinjarra: The Building of a Farm School, By RUBY FAIRBRIDGE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xv+239, Price, \$2.50.

The Rural Community and Its Schools. By CHARLES D. LEWIS. New York: American Book Company, 1937. Pp. xvi+412. \$2.50.

Rural Youth represents another addition to the serried ranks of recent rural youth studies. Whereas a decade ago the national attention was focused upon the problems of children, today the emphasis has shifted to youth. Everybody seems to sense a problem in connection with youth, and numerous local and national studies have been, or are being made to ascertain facts which will constitute a working basis for action programs

of amelioration. Dr. Anderson's study is one of the best, and the present monograph should be considered in connection with Cornell bulletin 649, which deals with the problems of married young people of the same age group.

Mr. Oberholtzer sets for himself the task of discovering the essential social and economic problems confronting the "agricultural industry" and about which students in the public schools should be informed. *American Agricultural Problems in the Social Studies* is an attempt to determine, by the method of getting consensus of authoritative writers, the problems, and generalizations about these problems which should constitute, in part at least, the basis for curriculum building, so far as this subject matter unit is concerned, for both urban and rural schools.

Mr. Oberholtzer selected his "problems" and "generalizations" on the basis of given criteria, from the published thought of recognized leaders in agriculture, using current magazines, books and special reports. "The completed list of source materials for analysis included seven hundred and fifty magazine articles, fifteen books, and seven national reports, all published in the ten-year period 1923-1932" (p. 17).

This is a most useful work for teachers of the social sciences. The "problems" and "generalizations" will be subject to change in a dynamic society, as the author expects, but the teacher may utilize the method to keep his materials up to date. The work represents a systematic approach to the difficult problem of selection of curricular materials.

Pinjarra is the story of the founding of the first Fairbridge Farm School in Western Australia, by Kingsley Fairbridge (1886-1924). A native of England, he spent his boyhood on the Rhodesian veldt, where he became imbued with an all absorbing passion to emigrate Englishmen to become farmers on the veldt. At seventeen he visited England, where he was appalled by the underprivileged Englishmen he saw in the slums. But upon his return to South Africa, he realized that transplanting adult Englishmen might not work out especially well. It was then the thought struck him that child emigration was the answer. "The children—the unwanted children in England—yes, that was it, take them while they were still young and train them in the country in which they were going to farm—Schools of Agriculture, not workhouses—that was it" (p. 9).

The force of later circumstance decreed Western Australia—not South Africa—as the place where the first "School" was to be established. It was financed by private contributions secured through the founder's personal solicitation with the assistance of Oxford friends whom he was able to fire with a part of his own enthusiasm. The first Farm School was established in 1912, on a neglected farm of 160 acres, four miles from Pinjarra. The first batch of "students," thirteen of them, arrived in January 1912.

Since 1912, over a thousand English boys and girls have been given a chance at the Pinjarra Farm School. At fourteen or fifteen the children are found employment on Australian farms. "There is never any difficulty in finding a job for a boy so thoroughly trained as these boys are," states Walter Murdock in the Introduction.

Professor Lewis has written a text for use in college classes in rural education, which stresses the importance of an understanding of the social context of the rural school. Drawing on the fields of rural sociology and economics, he sketches briefly the social and economic problems and characteristics of rural society. He describes the present educational situation in rural areas, pointing out the essential problems and proposed methods of improving the situation. There are chapters dealing with the relation of the school to the community and to the church, and a review of achievements of Danish and Norwegian rural schools. Finally, there is the prognosis of the future.

There will be few who will question the validity of the underlying thought of the book, that the raising of the level of the teaching profession in rural areas is the key to the rural educational problem if not other social problems as well. Lewis states in the preface, "Teachers must be sent into rural schools whose teaching ability is far above the level of the salaries they receive in order that later on they, or others, may obtain the salaries and teaching conditions which they need and deserve."

As the first general text to appear in this field in over a decade, it should receive a warm welcome from teachers of the subject itself, and from rural sociologists who deal with the rural school in their general courses and in courses in rural institutions.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

The Lost Generation. By MAXINE DAVIS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. 385.

The author, a newspaper and magazine writer, travelled by automobile 10,038 miles around the United States for three months, talking to boys and girls. *The Lost Generation* attempts a portrait and interpretation of American Youth. The index provides a useful directory of agencies and individuals who have contact with youth, including labor, schools, councils, youth organizations, juvenile courts, commissions, clubs, churches, libraries, employment agencies, merchants and manufacturers, Federal bureaus, surveys, museums, settlements, and political organizations in every part of the country.

The writer's thesis is that although we have an increased interest in the youth problem, "our attention has been centered on palliative measures, tending to make youngsters forget for the moment that they are outside the full stream of living." She asserts, "the emphasis is on training and relaxation, without regard for the core of life, the job we train for, and the job we relax from" (p. 334).

We have a whole generation of boys and girls turned out of school during the depression years, "either without work at all, or engaged in dead-end occupations" (p. 337) . . . 27.5 percent of our school age population are not in school. At least 2,205,500 youth between eighteen and twenty-four are totally unemployed. The statement of Secretary of Labor Frances

Perkins in a letter to the United States Senate April 5, 1935, is quoted: "The young people in the United States between sixteen and eighteen years old number approximately 4,800,000, and those between eighteen and twenty-four inclusive number sixteen million, 28 percent of whom were neither in school nor at work."

The writer produces evidence to show that the unemployment and lack of planning for youth are not merely depression phases but a persistent trend of our times. It is with the resulting habits of mind and attitudes that we should be most concerned. Since this generation has no security and no old ties, and is in fact unwanted, is it not ripe for dictatorship: will there not be a mass movement of youth to Fascism or Communism? As yet no demagogue has arisen to use youth's powerful assets, but the danger lurks if the wrong leader appears.

The attitudes which characterize The Lost Generation are apathy, defeatism, and faithlessness. "This generation does not think. While the level of intelligence is high, it is atrophied with inactivity. These young men and women do not think for themselves" (p. 269). They have lost all sense of rebellion. This, in brief, is the writer's portrait of youth.

From a scientific point of view both portrait and interpretation may be questioned. The study of attitudes is a complex matter, conditioned by the observer's training and assumptions. The book is interesting reporting, but it does not penetrate into the problems in social psychology which modern youth presents. Insofar as it may lead to increased awareness of adult responsibility it is useful.

Two publications of the American Youth Commission should be consulted to gain perspective. *Youth-Serving Organizations*, an introductory survey and descriptive directory by M. M. Chambers, and *How Fare American Youth* by Dr. Homer P. Rainey. Both are available from the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

MIRIAM VAN WATERS

Massachusetts State Reformatory for Women

Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation. By BERTA ASCH and A. R. MANGUS.

Relief and Rehabilitation in the Drought Area. By IRENE LINK under supervision of T. J. WOOFER, JR. and C. C. TAYLOR.

The People of the Drought States, By CONRAD and IRENE TAEUBER and C. C. TAYLOR.

All three books are published at Washington, D. C., Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, 1937, and are pagged xx+226, 57, and 81 respectively.

These three volumes quite amply supply the much desired information about the nature, extent, methods and distribution of rural relief and rehabilitation during the later years of depression for the entire farmer population and for the farming population of the drought region. The studies represent perhaps the largest sample study of a complex situation ever made in this country. The facts were collected by rural research agencies

maintained in 30 states and operating in 300 counties. Most of the data cover the years 1933-5 but some of them are for 1936.

The peak of the load was reached in February, 1935, when about 1,000,000 farm families were being relieved in some way. The proportion of farmers receiving aid varied greatly among states, accounted for by differing economic conditions and by different relief policies. Negroes in all agricultural groups received smaller grants than Whites and fewer Negroes than Whites had work relief. Relief families were larger than those of the general population. The "normal" family was the prevailing type. A larger proportion of agricultural laborers than of farm operators lived in villages. The proportion of tenant families on relief was greater than among owner operators. The drought and depression profoundly affected the growth and movement of farm population of the Plains states. Ten states lost 100,000 farmers to other states between 1930 and 1935. The farm population has been declining or stationary. The farm population decline has continued since these studies. A recent study of farm population mobility in North Dakota by D. G. Hay finds the farmers of that state decreased 15,000 between January 1, 1936 and January 1, 1937, the largest proportion being in the dry western half. Portions of that section have not had a crop since before 1930. It is the opinion of the authors that nothing but long-time planning and legislation can have a permanent effect on getting farmers back on their economic feet.

J. M. GILLETTE

University of North Dakota

Government in Rural America. By LANE W. LANCASTER. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1937. Pp. xv+416.

Most of the earlier books on rural government approached the subject from a legalistic and structural standpoint. Lancaster brings in a more realistic touch by viewing government in rural areas as a series of services performed for rural people with varying degrees of efficiency and adequacy. He points out many examples of the way in which constitutional and legislative requirements with respect to government in rural areas may be circumvented or altered materially because of local predilections and customs. In reading over the description of what has and has not been accomplished by this part of our governmental machinery, one cannot but be impressed by the ineffective, uncoordinated, decentralized, and inflexible nature of the system.

The author believes that an increase in centralized bureaucracy is inevitable in both rural and urban areas in response to the growing complexity of human interrelationships and mounting demands for new services and expansions of existing ones. The way of avoiding the evil of bureaucracy becoming an end in itself is to democratize more completely our educational facilities and to encourage increased participation in governmental affairs on the part of civic organizations.

In reading over the chapters that deal with the so-called "service activi-

ties," including police, justice, roads, education, welfare, and health, one gets the impression that the author does not believe existing structures can be modernized with any degree of success, nor that sweeping changes are likely to come because of local demands. State and federal subsidies that require changes in the interests of economy and efficiency appear the most effective stimulus to modernization. The reviewer is inclined to ask, however, based on past performance of some of these subsidies, if they have not served more as narcotics to ease "pain" instead of as a means of eliminating basic causes of governmental shortcomings in rural areas?

Lancaster's volume merits a wide reading among students of rural affairs. Although intended primarily as a college text, much of it is suitable as a background for discussions among adult groups. It is significant also in that it evidences a closer integration of political science, economics, sociology, and psychology, dealing realistically with human problems that somehow refuse to be boxed up in the traditional "pigeon-holes" built by the earthworks of classification and specialization.

THEODORE B. MANNY

University of Maryland

Éléments de sociologie religieuse. By ROGER BASTIDE. Paris: Armand Colin, 1935. Pp. 203, 13 Fr.

This handy little brochure contains a brief résumé of the main theories concerning the definition, origin, and evolution of religion; magic, rites, sacrifices, dogma, mythology; and elementary religious conceptions such as mana, spirits, and souls. It deals also with the relation between religion and morality, ecclesiastical organization, and the influence upon religion of geographic, economic, political, and "social" (i.e., morphological) factors. The reader is given in addition some idea of the vast mass of empirical material on these subjects collected by specialists. The author shows evidence of competent scholarship, but the treatment is necessarily hurried, superficial, and without pretense of originality. In general, M. Bastide takes a moderate and balanced position himself, criticises Durkheim's sociologistic extremisms, and attempts to avoid all hypotheses of a metaphysical or superempirical nature.

One basic problem which any treatment of religion must face is whether religion is to be understood in terms of its primitive or its most highly evolved form. Is religion the medley of absurd superstitions, irrational sanctions and taboos, mumbo-jumbo ritualism, and group hysteria which we find predominating in primitive society; or is it an inward mystical experience of communion with what are felt to be higher powers? It is with religion in this latter sense that Professor Bastide's previous book (*Les Problèmes de la vie mystique*) was concerned, and he is convinced that the evolution of religion is clearly in the direction of the progressive differentiation and autonomy of this element. Yet it is almost entirely with primitive religion and ethnographic sources that the present work deals. Modern religious developments and the influence of religion in recent contemporary society receive comparatively little attention. Far too much space is de-

voted to discussions of origins and to the relative priority of this or that special feature, aspect, or kind of primitive religion. This material is of ethnographic interest primarily; it does not give us very much in the way of positive results, since all of the numerous conflicting theories seem to be supported by only part of the existing evidence; and finally, it does not seem to throw much light on contemporary religions with their problems and their actual and potential social roles.

It is unfortunate also that M. Bastide has been prevented by positivistic methodological postulates from treating the inner content of religion, its doctrines, ideals, and spiritual experiences. He has largely confined himself to the external behavioral manifestations of religion (its rites, ceremonies, ecclesiastical organizations, and so forth). While this inner content is "individual" and "subjective" in the sense of being part of the experience of individuals, it is also relative to a cultural milieu, and is therefore no less social. There is no reason to fear that it cannot be objectively and scientifically treated so long as our interests are solely in description, analysis, and explanation, and so long as we rigorously exclude all criticism and evaluation. Finally, we ought not to ignore this realm simply because, as M. Bastide believes, it is not wholly explicable in terms of material factors. If it has a measure of spiritual autonomy, this too is an important fact for the sociologist to note; and in any case it undoubtedly has *effects* which may be of the greatest social importance, and to which the realistic sociologist can hardly shut his eyes.

ÉMILE BENOÎT-SMULLYAN

Harvard University

John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism. By MAXIMIN PIETTE. Translated by the Rev. J. B. Howard. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937. Pp. xlviii+569. \$5.00.

A certain piquancy attaches to the fact that a Franciscan scholar should evaluate the work of *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism* (translated by the Rev. J. B. Howard). But the book itself, excellently translated into English, is more than able to stand on its own merits. Spacious in its perspective and unhurried in its erudition, it is tempered throughout by sanity and mellowness of judgment. Methodism is here presented from the long range point of view of a Catholic man of letters who has devoted years of his life to envisaging the revival, not as an isolated movement, but as one, albeit crucial, act in the social and religious drama that was inaugurated by the Reformation.

The 569 pages of this work, though obviously the fruits of great scholarship, are singularly free from pedantry. While the most original part of the book would seem to be the earlier section in which Dr. Piette relates the Methodist movement to its background of world-forces, and the weakest, perhaps, his appraisal of the latter day intricate and extensive developments of the Methodist churches—a difficult feat for any outsider—yet the portrait he gives of Wesley is in itself noteworthy for its informed insight. In relating Wesley's work to the condition of the Anglican Church

of his day, Dr. Piette reaps to the full the advantage of his "long view." Since he did not confine his study of social and churchly misdemeanors to a scant fifty years before the coming of the reformer, he is able to show that certain deleterious conditions had been endemic in the Anglican Church almost since Reformation times, have persisted in spite of the revival to our own day. Such an interpretation, though less dramatic than the traditional Methodist one, may well be historically more meaningful.

The book should be of interest to all who are in search of sound historical bases for the development of a sociology of religion.

ELIZABETH K. NOTTINGHAM

Wheaton College, Mass.

Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber. By various authors. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1936. Pp. 433. \$6.50.

Northeastern and Western Yavapai. By E. W. GIFFORD. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1936. (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 247-354.) Pp. 107.

Yale University Publications in Anthropology, nos. 1-7, 8-13. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

The disparity of treatment and range of subject matter of the contributions of the *Festschrift* to Professor Kroeber, in celebration of his sixtieth birthday, is epitomized in the contrast between the opening selection on "The Army Worm: A Food of the Pomo Indians," and the closing one entitled "The Great World Theater." The essays are assembled alphabetically, according to the initial letter of the author's surname, rather than arranged according to subject matter, and the resulting juxtapositions are often incongruous, as when an article on "California Balanophagy" precedes, and "A Preliminary Report on the Zoological Knowledge of the Makah" follows, one on "Loose Ends of Theory on the Individual Pattern Involvement in Primitive Society."

The bulk of the studies included remain on the familiar level of the empirical specialist. Yet one can derive from this volume clues as to the significant trends in contemporary American anthropology. New insights are penetrating anthropology from psychology and archaeology. A meritorious application of the easily abused concept of psychological configuration is given in Cora Du Bois' effective analysis of "The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture." The author realizes the hazards of the method and makes reservations that merit quotation:

Not every culture integrates its social behavior to a few dominating attitudes, nor need every aspect, even of a relatively integrated culture, necessarily be aligned with major social preoccupations. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the emphasis on wealth among the Tolowa-Tututni permeates and shapes a large part of social behavior; that by such integrative emphases traits may be lent intensity and nuances which are lacking in other areas and that such emphases combine with, or produce, related attitudes which embrace the bulk of the cultural be-

havior recorded for these people. There are other phases of their life, however, which cannot be subsumed under the integrative attitudes of the culture.

That marked progress is being made in American archeology with the result that anthropology is being fructified is demonstrated by the contributions of Kidder, Strong, and Sauer: by Kidder on "Speculations on New World Prehistory"; by Strong on "Anthropological Theory and Archeological Fact"; and by Sauer on "American Agricultural Origins: A Consideration of Nature and Culture." The latter article makes the significant judgment that Soviet science is contributing considerably to this development. Sauer notes that the Russian Institute of Applied Botany and Plant Breeding has been the first to collect and to make comprehensive genetic, distribution and experimental studies on the entire assemblage of American cultivated plants. Although the investigations of the Institute are still in progress and conclusions are therefore still tentative, Sauer finds that they already offer "a serious challenge to many customary notions of cultural origin and may force a larger revision of American prehistory."

The reader of this volume will be relieved to find that American anthropology is no longer content with a purely destructive attack upon the social evolutionary theorists. An echo of the older theoretical absorption with this problem is to be found in Lowie's article, "Lewis Morgan in Historical Perspective." But even here the devastating vehemence of *Primitive Society* has given way to a fairer acknowledgment of Morgan's important contributions to anthropology. Lowie incidentally errs here in stating that Morgan was ignorant of the work of Maximilian and of Captain Cook, for one of Morgan's minor articles, with which Lowie is evidently not acquainted, cites Maximilian, and Morgan's manuscript journal lists Captain Cook's *Third Voyage*. Among other valuable and suggestive articles are Elsie Clews Parsons' "The House Clan Complex of the Pueblos," and Steward's discussion of "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands."

Strong makes very vigorous strictures on the "new anthropology" of Radcliffe-Brown as being "not only sociological, functional, and generalizing, but also messianic, imperialistic, and nonanthropological." In his monograph on the Northeastern and Western Yavapai Gifford also takes occasion to criticize Radcliffe-Brown's contention "that there is a very thorough functional correlation between the kinship terminology of any tribe and the social organization of that tribe as it exists *at present*." He finds that the Yuman kinship systems remain of a single type in spite of the fact that the river Yumans are organized in patrilineal clans, the Southeastern Yavapai in matrilineal clans, and the Northeastern and Western Yavapai are without clans, and he therefore asks how a single type of kinship system could have "a very thorough functional correlation" with matrilineal, patrilineal, and bilateral organization all at one time. Apart from this brief excursion into theoretical questions, Gifford's study is a purely empirical compilation of isolated cultural traits.

Social scientists in all fields will welcome the appearance of the Yale University Publications in Anthropology under the editorship of Edward

Sapir and Leslie Spier, designed to embody the results of researches in the general field of anthropology which are directly conducted or otherwise sponsored by the Section of Anthropology of the Department of Social Sciences in the Graduate School, the Department of Anthropology of the Peabody Museum, and the Department of Anthropology of the Institute of Human Relations. The first thirteen issues, comprising brief papers assembled in two volumes, contain reports on important researches, a number of which would probably not have been available in published form were it not for the establishment of this series. The typography is pleasing and the editorial standards high. Among the contributors are Wissler, Spier, Beaglehole, Thurnwald, Murdock, and Fenton.

BERNHARD J. STERN

Columbia University

Social Anthropology of North American Tribes. Ed. by FRED EGGAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. 456. \$3.00.

Isolated Communities. A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village. By OSCAR WALDEMAR JUNEK. New York: The American Book Co., 1937. Pp. 130. \$2.50.

The first book consists of eight essays presented to Radcliffe-Brown by his University of Chicago students on the occasion of his leaving to accept the chair of anthropology at Oxford University. Six of the eight essays deal with social organization, or more concretely with kinship, one with law, and one with religious revivalism. A brief introduction (6 pp.) by Redfield discusses the role Radcliffe-Brown has played in American anthropology. With one exception, the essays are all based on the various authors' field work and present new material.

The manner in which the authors make use of and test out Radcliffe-Brown's concepts is perhaps the most interesting part of the book. His theory that social anthropology is the study of the function institutions play in social integration, and his general formulations, run throughout the essays. But the authors as a whole could not be called Radcliffe-Brown's disciples. Redfield points out, in the introduction, that the value of the latter's approach is in what he offers the students as "guides to research." The authors have used these guides profitably, but at the same time recognized them as guides rather than as ends or goals. For instance, Eggan uses Radcliffe-Brown's principles to get an insight into the Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system, but also attempts to get a knowledge of the attitudes and the actual kinship behavior as well as the abstract kinship system. Opler, using the Chiricahua Apache kinship terminology as a technique to investigate the social relations which lie behind the terms, realizes that this is just one of several techniques and regards his essay as a condensed and initial step to handling his descriptive material meaningfully. Provinse, who makes use of Radcliffe-Brown's categories for sanctions to examine social control among the Plains Indians, values the categories as "pedagogic devices."

This seems to be an intelligent use of a conceptual system which makes society an almost complete abstraction. After using the system and thereby gaining an insight into the interrelations between institutions, it is necessary to get behind the abstractions to the human beings who are a locus of culture in a perhaps more realistic sense than any institution.

One turns from the social organization of North American Indians to an acculturation study of an isolated fishing community on the coast of Labrador. The village of Blanc Sablon is a cluster of twelve households, totaling seventy-eight people, living in the hostile milieu of the subarctic region. The original inhabitants came from fishing villages of Normandy in the second half of the seventeenth century and since then have been in contact with the Eskimo, Indians, Newfoundland fishermen, Hudson's Bay Company and other representatives of Canadian urban culture. Mr. Juneke took as his problem to find out the extent to which the folk culture has been changed by contact with urban civilization.

The historical background, physical surroundings, census, household composition, and technological data are all given in careful detail, followed by a study of the forces of cohesion and integration, making use of Radcliffe-Brown's theory. Mr. Juneke writes that the outstanding feature of his conclusion is that material traits (such as outboard motors for the fishing boats, fishing gear, rubber goods, etc.) have been taken over, first, because they are more adequate than the old tools, and that the new tools do not affect local beliefs. This does not seem to the reviewer to be so outstanding since it is true in almost all cases of acculturation and could have been predicted in advance. Much more significant and important is the reverse side, that is, the material and insight which the book gives into the stubbornness and resisting qualities of the folk culture, which can be seen in the strict observance of religious forms, beliefs in spirits, the absence of voting, of formal education and of cash money, the primary interest in the satisfaction of such basic needs as food and shelter, and the use of local custom rather than codified law as a means of social control. The book is a very interesting addition to the literature on acculturation and one likes its unpretentiousness.

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

New York City

The Church and the Challenge of To-Day. By A. E. J. RAWLINSON. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937. Pp. viii+136. \$1.75.

By study of this document, the sociologist may obtain illustrative material bearing upon that contemporary social institution, the Church of England. The book consists of a charge by their Bishop to the clergy of Derby. It treats illuminatingly the question of the social gospel. The Bishop holds that the prime responsibility of the Church is to Christianize the individuals who compose our increasingly secularized and pagan society. "It is also vitally necessary that Christians should endeavour to form some idea of what life in the world would be like if the spiritual sovereignty of Christ and God were the really determinative principle of world-civiliza-

tion; that they should live in the light of that vision and be content with nothing less. . . ."

In presenting the views of the Church on divorce, the Bishop cites Jesus as appealing "to the primal Divine institution of matrimony as such, which he finds enshrined in the Book of Genesis." Acting on that conception, he points out, the Church does not sanction divorce. It does recognize separations from bed and board, but it expects "the parties thus separated to abide in a condition of virtual widowhood, without remarriage, so long as both are alive . . . for the sake of the witness borne to the ideal principle of the indissolubility of marriage." It is notable that the Bishop takes this stand in spite of the fact that he regards it as stultifying to suppose "that the historical reliability of a particular tradition can be rightly presumed to be guaranteed on the ground of some supposed supernatural attribute to historical inerrancy."

HORNELL HART

Hartford Theological Seminary

Savage Civilization. By TOM HARRISSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938. Pp. 461. 9 maps, 73 illustrations. \$4.00.

Primitive Religion. By PAUL RADIN. New York: Viking Press, 1937. Pp. 306. \$3.50.

The first of these books is exciting considerable favorable comment. Written by an Englishman of twenty-five who has been an exploring biologist since the age of eighteen, it has great vigor and a fresh point of view at the same time that it embodies a good knowledge of anthropological theory. It is much more than a delightful travel book, much less than a thorough monographic study of a single tribe, and probably should be most properly classified in the literature dealing with the clash of cultures.

Tom Harrison led the Oxford expedition to the New Hebrides in 1933, employing his time chiefly in ornithology. When the expedition returned to England early in 1934 he stayed behind, going to an inland section to observe not birds but human beings. Among the savages of Malekula Island he lived until late in 1935, when Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., came in search of him, put him and his cannibal friends through their paces as movie performers, and took Harrison back to England—to authorship and plans for future expeditions.

So acceptable was he to the Malekulans that he was made a minor chief, and it is with real insight that he writes of the drama of life and death as it plays itself out among them: of the simple economy—fishing, tending pigs, clearing of ground and gardening—which Harrison calls a balanced system of classless capitalism; of the politics, now grown so complex because of the intrusion of the whites; of initiations, wars, beliefs and values, art, and all the activities and lore that round out the life of days and generations. Of more interest to this reviewer is his account of the history of the contacts of white and native peoples—the coming of the Spanish in 1606, then the French and the English, and recently the Chinese and

Japanese—and the changing objects of economic exploitation, from slaves to whales, sandalwood, sugar and copra; his estimate of missionaries and the missionary enterprise; and his discussion of what he slangily calls “depop.” Of the missionaries he has many amusing anecdotes of their campaigns for “shirtism,” of their stupidity and the futility of their efforts, but he agrees with Robert Louis Stevenson that they are, even so, the best and most useful whites in the Pacific. In his treatment of the depopulation problem he disagrees violently with Rivers and his school who have played up the theory of “psychological death,” of racial decay which results from the mental impact of higher civilizations. Harrison does not deny the psychological factor, but he insists that introduced epidemic disease is the main factor in the dying out of native races. What he writes throughout is no excited or romantic story of decadence and despair but, as he says, a story of inevitability, with oases here and there in the chaos. And as his facts are, on his own admission, frequently angular, so is his style of writing angular—vigorous, slangy, not to be laid side by side with any copy books, but here and there sensitive and beautiful.

Radin's *Primitive Religion* will be welcomed by students of anthropology, sociology, and religion. It carries forward and makes specific for the field of religion the thesis earlier advanced in his *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, namely, that it is an error to assume for any primitive group a dead level of mentality and intellectual ability; instead, what the discriminating analyst finds is about the same proportions of doers and thinkers, of relatively unreflective and philosophical persons, of matter-of-fact and poetic, as are to be found in civilized groups. Taken over into the discussion of religion, this thesis requires that the analyst separate those elements of religion which have been formulated by the priest-thinkers from those elements which appeal to the matter-of-fact and unreflective layman, for there is no dead level in religion any more than there is in the mentality of a normal group of human beings who express the religious faith and activity.

In line with this central position, there is much light thrown on the role of the religious formulator. Not only is he by temperament able to elaborate philosophically the beliefs of the ordinary man, but he capitalizes on the sense of insecurity of the ordinary man, which he may share to some extent, and makes himself and his prescriptions the key to security and safety. He and his brother priests thus become indispensable, are given a favored economic status with much leisure, and this in turn allows them time for further reflection and the devising of strategy. Every formulator must work on beliefs about and the practice of magic current in his group, for magic, according to Radin, definitely preceded religion though it is wrong to say, as some have said, that religion grew out of magic. But the priest-thinker cannot neglect so kindred a preoccupation, and in the interests of religion he remolds magical concepts and practices. It is not to be wondered at, however, that the pragmatic layman cannot always grasp the new interpretation and continues satisfied with the old, and religion, consequently, seems confused in both ideas and practices.

Economic determinants enter into Radin's analysis, not only in his account of the leisure-time products of the religious formulators, but also in his account of the range of supernatural objects of worship, from ghosts through totems and ancestral spirits to gods. The latter consideration depends heavily on the former, it is true, but beyond that there is, he thinks, a fairly definite correlation between the type of society and the type of supernatural beings. For example, where class distinctions do not exist, there is little form and definiteness to the concept of spirits; the egalitarian base of totemism does not favor the development of clearcut deities since it does not make for individualism. In other words, the very concept of deity suggests fixity and status which can not be envisaged in an undifferentiated social organization.

One can only acknowledge, in passing, a great debt to Radin for the many quotations drawn from primitive philosophies and religions and for the trenchant and valid criticisms of other anthropologists which now and again come into his pages. At the same time, one can only regret that for some reason he entered into a hypothetical reconstruction of the stages of evolution from magic to religion, the stages interpreted in Freudian terms at that. This little sally, occupying very little space in the first chapter, is completely gratuitous and of no importance for the argument. One could wish that he had spent his time instead at making definite some of the implications of his theory for religions and religious formulators in civilized society. But, that detail aside, the book is most provocative and will doubtless prove to be a landmark in the anthropological literature on religion.

GLADYS BRYSON

Smith College

Terrae Incognitae. Vols. I and II. By RICHARD HENNIG. Leiden, Germany: E. J. Brill, 1937. Pp. 384; 399. 6.00 guilders each.

Rarely is a reviewer privileged to wax enthusiastic; a certain pedantic restraint is in the academic mores. This reviewer, nevertheless, emits a mild Eureka! Here is a study of early travels and voyages that is of literally tremendous importance for our knowledge of culture contact and diffusion. Henceforth, any study of these topics that does not take account of what Hennig presents is doomed to superficiality.

The book is a compilation of German translations of primary sources dealing with Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, Venetian, Carthaginian, Jewish, Scandinavian, Irish, Moorish, Norman—and how many more!—journeys into unknown lands. Abundant evidence bearing on the sociology of both secular and sacred types of stranger, sociological conditions of effective cultural contact, the disorganization following upon "the clash of cultures and the contact of races," and like matters can here be studied in as nearly direct a manner as we could well hope for. Every sociological and anthropological library should at once lay hands on this magnificent collection.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Primitive Intelligence and Environment. By S. D. PORTEUS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. viii+325. \$3.00.

In a previous work, *The Psychology of a Primitive People*, Dr. Porteus gave an account of his travels and researches in Australia in 1929. In this new work, he does the same for his study of the Bushmen of the Kalihari Desert in 1934. He devotes three chapters to a summary of the Australian observations, followed by nine chapters of travel experience mingled with some account of the history and customs of the Bushmen and their neighbors. These chapters constitute an extremely interesting travelogue, and reveal the author as a man of letters, though many would prefer to get at the substance of the research more expeditiously.

The main contribution of this study is the author's contention that the Central Australians, who live in an even more unfavorable environment than the Bushmen, nevertheless excel them in the mental traits tested by his maze test. They even excel the Northwest Australians, who live in a much more favorable physical environment. So far as the evidence goes it is cleancut and decisive; it disposes, for the time being, of the claim that the races are of equal inherent potentiality, their actual differences being due to differences of environment. In addition, test results are given for various Bantu groups, the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, the Ainu of Japan and elsewhere, the Asiatic data being secured by Mr. Kilton Stewart, trained by Dr. Porteus. In many cases the number of individuals tested was small, and one cannot be sure they are representative. Moreover, as noted above, the scope of the tests is limited. As far as they go, however, they reveal striking differences in performance ability, much greater even than those who have heretofore accepted the view that the races differ in inherent ability would usually have expected. In addition, the author (275 ff.) strengthens the case for the significance of brain size for mental ability, though this section is by no means as cleancut in exposition as the importance of the question warrants.

The tone of the work is admirable, nor does the author claim too much. Interspersed here and there are valuable criticisms of the work of Klineberg and others who have been reluctant to accept the author's previous work.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Mixing the Races in Hawaii. By SIDNEY L. GULICK. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937. Pp. xiii+230. Paper, \$1.75; cloth, \$2.50.

The subtitle, *A Study of the Coming Neo-Hawaiian American Race*, indicates the author's belief that a new racial compound is forming in Hawaii, and that it will be not only a modified Hawaiian but also an American race. Obviously the word "American" here must be interpreted from the standpoint of psychological identification and political allegiance rather than from the standpoint of physical anthropology. The dedication, "To all kindred spirits who seek interracial understanding, appreciation and

goodwill," indicates that the book is largely motivated by the purpose, no doubt commendable, of cultivating right feeling, rather than by the single-minded search for the facts in the changing demography of the islands. The work is, therefore, pervaded by a spirit of optimism, perhaps in part deriving from the fact that it seems to have been written largely for home consumption. It is a sort of guide to the cultural activities of the islands. Research data on race differences and race mixture are almost entirely absent. Nevertheless, it gives an informing picture of the racial, educational, religious and political factors tending to produce sentiments of communal solidarity. The sociologist may find in it a partial answer to the historical puzzle as to how it comes about that persons of diverse physical type nevertheless come to think of themselves as belonging to the same race.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Darwin's Theory Applied to Mankind. By ALFRED MACHIN. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937. Pp. xxiv+284. \$3.00.

This book is not concerned with the failure of the selective process in society, as exemplified by the survival of the unfit. It is rather an attempt to demonstrate the complete application of the theory of selection and survival to human traits and social organizations, and, especially, to the existence of moral standards. Moral values are "earthborn" and are of two types: an early morality useful to hunting tribes who combined to defend their hunting grounds, and needed for survival such warlike traits as valor, self-sacrifice, and even sadism and vengeance; and a later morality adapted to the accumulations of wealth in agricultural and industrial societies where men must become disciplined to industry, thrift, submission, and resignation. This later form has not displaced the earlier because societies are still so frequently at war that men have to retain both types of morality, and this gives rise to inconsistencies and conflicts. Also, Mr. Machin emphasizes the importance of human selection, which supplements natural selection and bridges the gap between animal evolution and human evolution.

While this book is not an important addition to sociology, it contains many interesting theories and observations, and it is written in a simple non-technical style which should appeal to the general reader. Not the least interesting part of the volume is a foreword by Sir Arthur Keith.

FREDERICK A. BUSHEE

University of Colorado

Race, A Study in Modern Superstition. By JACQUES BARZUN. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937. Pp. x+353. \$2.50.

This volume presents a strong indictment against the modern practice of using race as a rallying shibboleth for national, economic, social, and even religious group unity and organization. The author carefully marshals the arguments of racialists from Herodotus and Tacitus down to Gobineau

and other modern theorists. The analysis pictures a striking galaxy of inconsistencies held by the racialists. The author notes the alacrity with which anthropology was seized upon as a tool to build and to support race theories, and points out that although racialism is far from a science, and that its methods would not be tolerated by the scientist in his own field, nevertheless scientists are frequently guilty of appropriating the views of racialists without seeking verification.

The author's study leads him to the conclusion that there is no satisfactory definition of race which will really define and at the same time correspond to the facts, hence race becomes a nebulous thing lending itself to diverse patterns of race thinking which are adapted to ingroup notions of superiority. How powerful a force this may become is illustrated by tracing the interplay of race theories in nationalistic wars from 1870 to the present. Nationalism in Nazi Germany finds popular support in its self-directed character of race thinking. Similarly, the various streams of race thinking in France are now pursued as never before, and England, Italy, and other nations are far from inarticulate in the support of favored race theories.

Barzun concludes that race is a myth, but a powerful and dangerous superstition which lives on today. One might, however, express a doubt as to whether the concept of race, be it fact, myth, or superstition, does anything other than to provide a convenient medium for ingroup *versus* outgroup animosities, engendered by factors far more potent than race theories.

EARL E. MUNTZ

New York University

Experience-Worlds of Mountain People. By M. TAYLOR MATTHEWS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xv+210. \$2.25.

This book is a study of two isolated mountain communities (Roan Mountain, Shell Creek and their hinterlands) located in the upper Doe River valley, Carter county, Tennessee. These communities demand only a passing interest of the scientific observer, since they are not unlike many other isolated communities in the Appalachian or Ozark areas. However, the methodology employed in the study of these communities demands careful consideration and evaluation by the sociologist. Chapter 1, "The Behavioristic Setting," describes the development of a new methodology for the measurement of the subjective world of experience. The individual responds to the objective and subjective stimuli of his social world both overtly and subjectively. Sciences (physical, natural, and social) have already been developed for the measurement of the objective responses of the individual. However, "the experience we call *meaning* resides largely in these subjective responses." The author states that it is the peculiar task of sociology to explore and measure the heretofore unknown subjective world of the individual. In a survey of the literature of sociology the author is unable to find "very much systematized evidence of what goes on inside the person subjectively or happens to him as a unified but mutable organism con-

comitantly with and/or resultantly from his impact against those stimuli which may be classified under the generic term, 'social.' " In view of this vacuum in sociological knowledge the author was motivated to undertake the present study.

The author outlines the essential elements in a scientific study of the subjective world of experience as follows: (1) the relative influence of various groups of stimuli including natural, technological and institutional stimuli upon various classes of persons; (2) the various processes through which the person contacts, is changed, influenced, or affected by various types of stimuli; (3) techniques to measure the extent or degree and rate at which any of the foregoing processes affect persons over a functional or chronological period of time; (4) a critical evaluation or appraisal of any given set of social stimuli producing subjective experiences within the individual; and (5) the reconstruction of institutional or technological arrangements so as to produce a happy type of subjective experience within the individual.

In the opening chapter the reader is led to believe that a revelation in methodology will occur in the remainder of the book and that the mysteries of the subjective world will soon be demonstrated to all mankind. However, the reader is sadly disillusioned and keenly disappointed because such a revelation in methodology fails to materialize.

The basic materials for this study were secured through the use of free association tests, non-standardized rating scales, questionnaires, and similar unreliable research techniques. It is evident, therefore, that the basic materials for this study consist only of opinions, prejudices, and fleeting anticipations. In view of these defects in methodology, how valid are the author's conclusions regarding mountain people?

MORRIS G. CALDWELL

University of Kentucky

Negro Builders and Heroes. By BENJAMIN BRAWLEY. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xiv + 315. \$2.50.

Anyone interested in a collection of facts about a sizable group of leading American Negroes of the past two centuries may find this book useful. It contains five to twelve page biographies of two dozen persons, and several chapters which give briefer mention to a much larger number who have excelled in various fields. The selection is catholic: preachers, poets, and pugilists; school teachers, soldiers, and senators are included. A complete index and several pages of bibliography are furnished.

Such a work might make a valuable contribution to understanding of the problems and evaluation of the achievements of the colored minority in the United States. But it must be stated with regret that Mr. Brawley's book is disappointing in that respect. Its general tone is one of solemn and uncritical adulation which often becomes pathetic. Funeral eulogies are quoted; we are told impressively that a man's grave is now adorned with "a magnificent monument with a tall shaft," and that the flags presented

by a governor to a Negro regiment were "of finest texture and workmanship." These and similar references must impress any but the most naïve reader as unfortunately defensive or apologetic. Negro leaders are human beings who have contended with partial but significant success against great obstacles; they still stand in need of a biographer who will portray them as they are.

ELBRIDGE SIBLEY

Bowdoin College

The Arts Workshop of Rural America. By MARJORIE PATTEN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 202. \$1.50.

Highland Heritage. By EDWIN E. WHITE. New York: Friendship Press, 1937. Pp. 197. \$1.00.

Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands. By ALLEN H. EATON. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. Pp. 370. \$3.00.

These three volumes make a valuable contribution to the literature concerning rural life. The character of the first can be gathered from its subtitle, "A Study of the Rural Arts Program of the Agriculture Extension Service." It deals primarily with the rural activities in music and drama. By reading this volume one becomes aware that "something new under the American sun" is occurring. It is somewhat startling to learn that hundreds of plays are being given in isolated communities in Wisconsin—and also in other states—in spite of dust storms and subzero weather. The extent of the musical activities in rural Iowa are equally surprising. The turning to music and acting is country-wide, some regions, of course, making greater progress than others. Two especially encouraging facts are brought out. The first is that the standards are rising steadily. The second is that farm people are beginning to write their own plays and are achieving real success at it.

The other two books deal with the region of the Southern Highlands. The author of *Highland Heritage* is a minister and writes from the standpoint of one who sees the duty of the church in terms of human betterment. This book contains some valuable statistics, though formal tables are avoided. There is a refreshing note of optimism throughout.

The third is the most elaborate work of the three. It is a rather complete description of the work in weaving, dyeing, wood carving, furniture making, basketry, pottery, and other forms of handicrafts in the Southern Mountains. It not only describes the various handicraft centers, such as Berea College, Gatlinburg, Pine Mountain, and Pittman Community Center, but lists and describes a large number of individuals who are proficient in handicrafts. The book contains over a hundred reproductions of photographs, fifty-eight of them being from Doris Ulmann's famous collections. Some of these are in color.

RAYMOND F. BELLAMY

Florida State College for Women

The Second United Order Among the Mormons. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 419. By EDWARD J. ALLEN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 148. \$2.25.

Charles Coulson Rich: Pioneer Builder of the West. By JOHN HENRY EVANS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xv+400. \$3.50.

The monograph by Allen is a description and interpretation of the attempts of the Utah Mormons to set up a theocratically controlled communism which they called "The United Order." This study takes its cue from an investigation made by Joseph A. Geddes of the initial trial at a somewhat similar socio-economic system by the early Mormons. Allen has drawn heavily upon some unpublished data collected by Nels Anderson in addition to newspapers, pamphlets, Mormon church publications, and various biographies and autobiographies.

After an introductory chapter reviewing the Geddes study, the author traces the economic and sociological backgrounds of the Second United Order in Utah. He points out in particular two important factors: first, the breakdown of Mormon isolation with the building of the Union Pacific Railroad in the late 'sixties and the resultant threat to the Mormon leaders of loss of complete control of the cultural fabric of Mormonism; and second, the natural setting for a communism of sorts in the cooperative movement which had already grown up with the settlement of the Mormons in the Great Basin. Then follows a description of several communistic associations, with notations on the forms of economic control, including the role of the leaders and of various boards of management, as well as stipulations regarding wages and the distribution of income. There is a discussion of reactions to the schemes of various persons both inside and outside the Order. Considerable stress is laid on the fact that the dominant leaders of the church, Brigham Young and others, attempted to keep the practice alive by persuasion from the pulpit and even by modifying the form of the organization after it became apparent that the system would not work in the face of the strong American culture of individualism, private property, and private enterprise—ideas and habits common to the bulk of Mormons.

Within the limits of his available materials and of his qualified familiarity with the sweep of the Mormon movement against the broader background of American history, the author has done a creditable job of description and interpretation. Yet in a few minor details the monograph contains certain inexcusable errors, such as the incorrect statement regarding the present academic position of Professor Geddes at the Utah State Agricultural College, the failure to locate "Dixie" (Washington county, Utah) for the non-Mormon reader, and the failure to cite the sources of rather important quotations (see pp. 23, 76, 77, 105).

The story of Charles Coulson Rich by Evans presents another to the growing list of biographies of men who were prominent in the Mormon movement—all important sources for a fuller understanding of the personalities and events which are linked to this somewhat unique societal and cultural development. Not only does the narrative reveal the terrific

hardships of pioneering, but many American readers will be interested in the picture which the author gives of a polygynous family, for Rich had five wives who bore him fifty children.

KIMBALL YOUNG

University of Wisconsin

Vorgeschichte von Deutschland. By CARL SCHUCHHARDT. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1935. Pp. 366. RM 9.60.

Deutsche Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Bildern. By CARL SCHUCHHARDT. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1936. Pp. 80, RM 3.80.

Alteuropa. By CARL SCHUCHHARDT. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1935. Pp. xi+322. RM 7.20.

Unhappy Germany has a fresh affliction. It has long been fashionable to write about Germanic origins, but the book buyer is at present assailed by a motley throng of paltry and fugitive tracts purporting to show that everything worthwhile in the modern world has been the product of the "German race." The more refreshing it is, therefore, to find a set of works on this theme that are not subject to the criticism implied above.

The first of these, *Vorgeschichte von Deutschland*, is a scholarly and objective compilation of the findings of physical anthropology, archaeology, and related sciences, with reference to the Germanic past.

Its companion volume, *Deutsche Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Bildern*, presents in excellent rotogravure a few of the illustrations for which the line drawings and halftones of the other book were inadequate. They are both to be highly recommended.

Broader in scope, but still with primary attention to the Germanic influences, is the same author's *Alteuropa*. This has gone through three editions, but unlike many contemporary German treatises, the present revision takes little account of political considerations. Scholarly detachment, in other words, is preserved. The Paleolithic and Neolithic cultures which flourished prior to the Indo-European migrations are adequately presented, particularly the Aegean civilizations of Crete and the southern Peloponnese. Beautifully bound, printed, and illustrated, it is not only a valuable research tool, but also of great interest to the social scientist who must have a passing acquaintance with the field.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Die Idee des Volkes im Schrifttum der Deutschen Bewegung. Edited by PAUL KLUCKHOHN. Berlin: Junker and Dünhaupt, 1934. Pp. 226. RM 4.00.

This book is a useful anthology for the student of nationalism. It contains longer and shorter extracts from the writings of German authors from 1760 to 1820 with the purpose of illustrating the development of the national idea and of the different aspects of the use of the word "Volk." Books, lectures, pamphlets, letters and conversations furnish the source

material. At the beginning we find the writers of the Enlightenment under the influence of cosmopolitan ideas, the Storm and Stress period discovered the importance of folkways and of individual national personality, and finally Romanticism introduced full fledged nationalism. But it was not the liberal and rational nationalism as it developed in seventeenth century England and in eighteenth century America and France. It was a nationalism glorifying the traditional impulses of the national group, irrational and antiliberal, erecting the organic historical conception of *Volk* as a metaphysical reality high above the individual. Between 1790 and 1810 German thought underwent a most profound change. Schiller wrote in 1789 to his friend Körner: "Es ist ein armseliges kleinliches Ideal, für eine Nation zu schreiben, einem philosophischen Geiste ist diese Grenze durchaus unerträglich. Dieser kann bei einer so wandelbaren zufälligen und willkürlichen Form der Menschheit, bei einem Fragmente (und was ist die wichtigste Nation anders?) nicht stille stehen." In 1813 Arndt wrote: "Verflucht aber sei die Humanität und der Kosmopolitismus, jener allweltliche Judensinn, den ihr uns preist als den höchsten Gipfel menschlicher Bildung." The editor is right in pointing out that in Arndt and some of the Romantics the philosophy of Hitler found its first expression.

HANS KOHN

Smith College

The Brown Network. The Activities of the Nazis in Foreign Countries. ANONYMOUS. Translated from the German. New York: Knight Publications, 1936. Pp. 308. \$3.00.

Hitler's First Foes: A Study in Religion and Politics. By JOHN BROWN MASON. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co., 1936. Pp. 118. \$1.75.

The first of these books is the work of an anonymous German émigré. It presents an imposing array of quotations and of documents, many in reproduction, giving a picture not only of the activities of Nazi groups and Nazi emissaries outside Germany, but also of the motives and ideas underlying the foreign policy of the present German government. It is of course impossible for the reviewer to check the accuracy of all the statements in the book, but many of them sound entirely trustworthy, and the book as a whole affords interesting reading. Although its spirit is frankly partisan, it will impress the reader with the wealth of information which the author has collected.

Mason's volume deals with the problem and history of the relations between the National Socialist movement and the Catholic Church. The author has an excellent knowledge of Catholic movements and personalities in Austria and Germany, and of the primary source material for recent German history. He is frankly critical of the Nazi policy, but his book is thoroughly scholarly and written in an objective way. It should be recommended without reservation to any serious student of the religious problems of Nazi Germany and of the *weltanschaulich* conflict between the ruling party in Germany and religious life. The author bases his book on a careful

perusal of the important German newspapers and periodicals. The book deals also with the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the rising Nazi movement and does not confine itself to the history since 1933. An appendix contains a number of valuable documents in translation. The author is "a Protestant who believes that the Catholic Church in Germany is not fighting merely her own battle when she struggles so tenaciously for independence from state control." To the present reviewer the author seems too optimistic in 1936 about the outcome of the fight between the totalitarian nationalistic state and the religion of Christ, but he was right in foreseeing that "eventually the two branches of Christianity in Germany are bound to share either the same freedom of religion or the fate of common catacombs."

HANS KOHN

Smith College

Society: A Textbook of Sociology. By R. M. MACIVER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. Pp. xii + 529. \$3.75.

This is one of the best one-man textbooks that this sociologist has ever encountered. The style is clarity itself; the content is never obscured by rhetorical brilliance. One finds it difficult to imagine students ever reading a textbook for pleasure, but if such a miracle should occur, here is the material basis for it. The terminology is simple and yet precise; MacIver has demonstrated that pedantry is not essential to exactitude.

In some sense a re-writing of the author's earlier work, *Society, Its Structure and Changes*, the book is, nevertheless, definitely new. Many additions have been made, but one important chapter of its forerunner has been omitted. The pedagogical aids that were formerly printed in a separate pamphlet now appear at the end of the volume, and the notes on further reading have been somewhat expanded. It has occurred to the reviewer that if the new version is not used as the elementary text, it might still be possible to use *Society, Its Structure and Changes*, in the "Principles" course, for it is on a slightly higher level. If one must choose, however, by all means use *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* in the introductory course, and something else for "Principles"; beginning students, most of whom never go on to anything more advanced, should not be robbed of the chance to enter the green fields of sociology through a gateway so inviting.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Le Nationalsocialisme allemand. Ses Doctrines et leurs réalisations. Tome I. By H. MANKIEWICZ. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1937. Pp. 272. 45 francs.

This is by all odds the best study of Naziism known to the reviewer. It is the first of a series, sponsored by the Institute of Comparative Law at Lyons, which will give an account of the developments in the Third Reich, so far as these are related to the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. This gives wide

scope, since the author says (p. 33): "The transformations of the social, cultural, economic and juridical life of Germany today are only the realizations of the National Socialist conception of the world in all domains of human life." This volume first sets forth the Nazi "world view," showing it to be "biologic, organic and dynamic" (i.e., not fixed, formal, and unchanging in its legal applications). It then analyzes the attack on liberalism, nationalism, humanism, internationalism, bourgeois society, and Marxism. The treatment is heavily documented, clear and objective. The second volume will treat the same philosophy from the standpoint of its creative principles and aspirations. Probably no body of scholars is better qualified to appreciate this masterly analysis than the sociologists, especially those having an interest in social psychology and psychiatry. On the whole, the Nazi revolution is vastly more significant for students of Western culture than the Russian. The causes and effects of such a vast social upheaval need to be understood, and not merely evaluated as is the custom. Mankiewicz's work is henceforth indispensable to all serious students in this field.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

I Fattori Biologici Dell'Ordinamento Sociale. By LIVIO LIVI. Padova: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani, 1937, Pp. 302. Lire 35.

In this monograph Livi makes an attempt to create a natural (biological) sociology. The author believes that such a sociology is logically necessary. Livi is led to espouse the cause of natural sociology, not because he considers society to be a physical or biological phenomenon, but because he is convinced that the proper study of society will reveal the extant connections between the unique biological characteristics of man and the variety of societal forms. These forms cannot be understood, he believes, except as they are referred to man's biological nature.

In the first chapter Livi devotes himself to a critical examination of the evolutionary (biological) theories of human society, and finds them unsound. He contends, in rejecting them, that it is impossible to discover or to appreciate the connections between human social groups and the natural world if the concept of organic evolution is employed as an explanation. The variety of societal forms, be they simple or complex in structure, are connected to and are influenced by the same biological characteristics of man the world over.

Livi regards the following biological characteristics of man as basic in the formation of social groups: the human life span, man's physical growth span, the relation between the sexes, human vitality, the length of the period of pregnancy, the physical characteristics of the newborn, and the variability of human biological characteristics. Biological and derivative factors have compelled human beings to collect themselves *normally* into permanent monogamous families and contemporaneously into well-integrated and *hierarchical* social groups.

In support of his thesis Livi has accumulated an imposing amount of data, from which he creates a number of *natural* norms. The value of these norms for sociology can best be judged in the light of the following quotation: "These norms which seem to us to spring as logical deductions from our observation of bio-demographic facts are those pursued by the fascist regime and we are therefore induced to conclude that fascist political demography rests on a natural foundation, a feature that is exquisitely human and consequently of universal value" (p. 275). There is little that can be added except to say that Mussolini should be grateful to Professor Livi.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

Geschichtswissenschaft und Wahrheit. By ULRICH NOACK. Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke, 1935. Pp. 207. RM 10.00.

Katholizität und Geistesfreiheit. By ULRICH NOACK. Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke, 1936. Pp. 377. RM 8.50.

Die ständische Ordnung. Geschichte, Idee und Neuaufbau. By WALTER ADOLF JÖHR. Leipzig: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1937. Pp. xii+361. RM 9.00.

Wirtschaften und Charakter in der antiken Bildung. By JÜRGEN BRAKE. Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke, 1935. Pp. 151. RM 6.50.

The two volumes by Noack comprise what may be regarded as a definitive exposition of the life and work of the nineteenth century English historiographer and Catholic apologist, Lord Acton. Thoroughly trained in the school of Meinecke and immersed, with Acton, in the long and prolific tradition of German historiography, the author displays an abundance of scholarly ability in treating of Acton's views with regard to the problems of historical understanding and ethical judgment, historical necessity and ethics, authority and freedom, the place of the Christian Church in the life of modern nations, and particularly the role of England as guardian of the Germanic-Christian tradition.

In *Geschichtswissenschaft und Wahrheit* Noack considers Acton as a historian and philosopher of history, and gives him credit for introducing into English historiography the high standards and disciplined technique of German scholarship. Acton's own essays on the German schools of history, together with his almost passionately objective canons of historical criticism, receive much of the author's attention, as does also the problem of the ethical value of historical truth. The apparent conflict between historical objectivity and the authoritarian ideal of the Roman Catholic Church is treated in extensive detail. Acton resolves it by means of his religious faith which informs him that if a historian's life is in harmony with religion his ideas must of necessity be in harmony with religion. Somewhat strangely, in view of Acton's aversion to Hegel's pantheistic or acosmic philosophy of history, the book is arranged according to the schema of the Hegelian dialectic: (1) the historico-methodological or historico-ethical

problem in its relation to the German historical school serves as the thesis; (2) Acton's clarification of significant manifestations of the process of temporalization (*Historisierung*) in German thought and his defense of an ethically transcendent vs. a monistic-immanent historical process becomes the antithesis; and (3) the synthesis appears in his systematic development of historical, ethical, and religious thought as it plays upon the idea of freedom—a freedom conceived not as a mechanistic necessity but as a religious and moral obligation.

Katholizität und Geistesfreiheit provides a sketch of Acton's life, his early years in Germany where he lived with Döllinger, his training in the school of Ranke, his reactions to the Oxford movement in England, his relations with Cardinal Newman and Gladstone, his editorial work on Catholic periodicals, his Regius Professorship in Modern History at Cambridge, and, especially, his part in the ultramontane controversy—all painted against the background of English Catholicism.

The sociological implications of Acton's work lie hidden in a maze of theological doctrine. No "dim religious light" shines here, but rather one bright enough to oppose not only Hegelianism, which ignores the influence of divine and human will in its attempts to confine the drama of history within the development of the *Geist*, but also the positivistic histories of Taine, Buckle, Grote, and others who deny the influence of sentiment and character in history, who fail to see that history is not a natural but a spiritual process, and who, finally, do not understand that history is the true demonstration of religion. The construction of an ethical universalism, of which the Roman Catholic Church represents the apotheosis, is for Acton the highest aim of all history.

In spite of Acton's deprecation of positivistic philosophies of history, perhaps it is the tradition of Taine, Buckle, and Grote rather than the tradition of *Historismus* which will supply a necessary prolegomenon to a sociology of historical processes. The philosophy of Acton, nestling too snugly within the confines of Comte's first stage, belongs to the type of transcendental *Geschichtsphilosophie* which a positive science of sociology arose to displace.

The book of Jöhr, a doctoral dissertation written under Sombart at Friedrich-Wilhelms University, deals with the problems of class and class order. The first part is devoted to a thorough historical study of the concept of class from Plato up to a number of more recent theorists, including Adam Müller and Othmar Spann. In the discussion of the problem of class as reflected in the contemporary world, Pareto receives special emphasis as the spiritual godfather of both Fascism and National Socialism. The second section deals with the author's general theory of class: the meaning of the concept, the structure of class, its relation to human nature, its "confirmed" status as a biological reality, the relation of class to political party and state, and to morality, law, and the *Weltgeist*. The book concludes with an attempted implementation of the theory for the social situation of the present, and fades off into a paean of praise for the manner in which Germany and Italy as positive states (in contrast to democ-

racies, which are neutral states) have met and solved the class problem.

The fourth book listed above, a dissertation at Göttingen, attempts to clarify the relation of economics to education and culture in ancient society. The author suggests that the Greeks were among the first to recognize the disparity between liberal education and economic life. He finds the same disparity in the German system of education, which is built on a foundation of Classical Humanism, Christianity, and the idea of the national state. The conflict of intransigent interests has grown more intense today because the leaders of social groups belong to the classes who dissipate their energy in economic endeavor rather than, as in earlier times, to clerical, intellectual, and political aristocracies. While Brake does not attempt to solve the problem, he penetrates deeply into the characterological content of economics and the educational meaning and educational value of economic endeavor, concluding with the fervent hope that neither the imperious power of economic greed nor the financial cares of everyday life will sully the spiritual, educational, and cultural aspects of life.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

Columbia University

Nationalism and the Class Struggle: A Marxian Approach to the Jewish Problem. By BER BOROCHOV. With an Introduction by Abraham G. Duker. New York: Poale Zion-Ziere Zion of America and Young Poale Zion Alliance of America, 1937. Pp. 205. \$1.50.

The American Jewish Yearbook, 5698. Vol. 39. By HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1937. Pp. x+937. \$3.00.

The left wing faction in Zionism, the so-called Poale Zion party, is undoubtedly the most dynamic force in the Zionist movement today, playing an increasingly important role in the process of the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland in Palestine as well as in determining the policies of the movement as a whole. *Nationalism and the Class Struggle*, a collection of articles by the late Poale Zionist leader, Ber Borochov, selected and translated from the Yiddish by a group of the Young Poale Zionists, aims to acquaint the English-speaking person with the principles of Poale Zionism, as expounded by its chief founder. Laying down the postulate that the Jewish problem is incapable of solution unless the Jews are first placed under normal economic and cultural conditions, viz., a land of their own, Borochov evolves a theory in which nationalism, in this case Zionism, is not only not inconsistent with Marxism, but, indeed, complementary to it. This he does by claiming "conditions of production," namely, the geographical and cultural environment in which production takes place, to be as important as the Marxian "relations of production." Zionism, as conceived by Borochov, is plainly an outgrowth of the peculiar socio-economic circumstances under which the Jews have been living, and its fulfillment, he was convinced, will not only solve the many problems imposed upon them by their landlessness, but provide them with a base whence they will be

better able to wage their struggle for the social revolution. The extensive introduction, wherein the development and crystallization of Borochov's ideas are very ably traced, adds greatly to the usefulness of the little volume.

This year's issue of the *American Jewish Yearbook* includes an enlightening article of considerable length on the various types and problems of Jewish Community Organization in the United States by Dr. Maurice J. Karpf and an informative historical sketch of the Jewish Welfare Board by Dr. Cyrus Adler. The "Review of the Year 5697" by the editor, which occupies 300 pages and which covers the period of July 1, 1936 to June 30, 1937, gives an excellent résumé of Jewish events in practically every country of the globe. The facts conveniently assembled in this compendium constitute a reliable source of information on many phases of contemporary Jewish life throughout the world. The official summary of the British Royal Commission Report on Palestine will be found useful to those wishing to acquaint themselves first-hand with the much discussed Palestine question. Another valuable item is the statistical data concerning the distribution of the Jews in the United States and elsewhere. One regrets that the figures regarding the Jews in the United States are still largely those of 1927. A promise is made, however, by the editor to have the results of a study carried on at present made available in the following volume.

SAMUEL KOENIG

Yale University

A History of Historical Writing. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937. Pp. xiii + 434. \$3.50.

A book as enthusiastically written as this deserves an enthusiastic review. From Eolithic archaeology to contemporary journalism, from the earliest known Egyptian calendar to current contributions to social science, and from the baneful influence of Christian theology upon medieval and modern historiography to the role of adrenalin in pan-Slavism, Harry Elmer Barnes has written a history of everything that could possibly be considered historical writing. Separate chapters deal with the origin of historical writing, historical writing among the Greeks and Romans, early Christian historical writing, and so on throughout the course of Western history from the Middle Ages to the present, with additional chapters on the development of historiographical techniques and suggestions for the training of professional historians. The final section of the book becomes a rostrum for a spirited defense of the new history—a plea for making history equivalent to the history of the totality of civilization and culture, for historiographical acknowledgment of the interrelationship of the social sciences, and, more specifically, for a recognition of the essential dependence of history upon anthropology, psychology, and sociology. A reviewer can perhaps pay no greater compliment than to suggest that the book is not only a history of historical writing; it is the new history of historiography.

With so much "new," a new Harry Elmer Barnes was probably too much

to expect—if indeed that were desirable. The arrangement of the material, half chronological and half topical, could stand much improvement. A too facile use of scissors and paste pot leads to unnecessary factual repetition; for instance, the reader learns several times of the periodization of Christian Cellarius (pp. 16, 173, 348), of Preserved Smith's history of culture (pp. 322, 326, 327), of the exclusion of Milosh Boghitschewitsch from the Serbian archives (pp. 283, 286), etc. Frequently whole passages descend to the level of annotated bibliography—sometimes with annotation omitted—but the intractability of the subject matter shares the blame. When the literary color becomes too violent and the bravura too breezy, as for example, in the indictment of German phenomenology as “probably the most pompous bit of intellectual pretense and epistemological fakery since Plotinus” and of phenomenologists as a “grotesque group of esoteric obfuscators,” sympathetic readers may yip with delight, but an excess of acerbity will probably not make converts for the new history. If G. P. Gooch has been “over-polite to myth-mongers in high places” the same cannot be said of Barnes. On the whole, however, only phenomenological dialecticians, stylistic purists, antiquarians, purveyors of “past politics,” Neo-Scholastics, gum-blowers, and medicine men will claim that these minor faults detract from the utility of the book. That an author should energetically shovel rubbish from the cellars of the social sciences at the same time that he writes a comprehensive and scholarly history of historiography may violate the Aristotelian canons of rhetoric, but if so let there be more violations!

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

Columbia University

The History of Science and the New Humanism. By GEORGE SARTON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xx+196. \$2.00.

Books of this sort, in which an attempt is made to further the bringing together of what we know into a vision of life, are badly needed in our time. And Dr. Sarton has made a contribution to that end in this small volume which is at once fundamental, vital, and readable. He is so decided in his opposition to the humanist who is antagonistic to science that he can hardly speak of him without calling him names: “blind and futile idealists,” “chicken-hearted humanists of the old school,” and the like; but he is also set against “iconoclastic technicians and crude materialists,” and against those scientists who are “so uncultured, so ignorant outside of their specialty, so lopsided, that their claims of leadership are preposterous.” The “New Humanism” for which he speaks “is a double renaissance: a scientific renaissance for men of letters, and a literary one for men of science.” He asks: “Of what use can it be to us men to build daring bridges, airships, skyscrapers, if we lose thereby the art of joy and humble life?”

The New Humanism, as distinguished from the Old Humanism, is to synthesize the creative activities of mankind, those of the “artist, the social reformer, the saint, the scientist,” and thus to “humanize” science.

How? By what means? Four means are suggested: education, religion, social reform, study in the history of science. A most provocative section of the book is the one devoted to the discussion of radical educational reform. The curriculum suggested by Dr. Sarton seems to me worthy to be pondered by all who are interested in education. What is said about religion, on the other hand, is almost negligible. There is no hint that the author is aware of the religious ferment of our day caused by the attempt to remake religion, with the help of science, into something having direct implications for social reform. Religion is taken to be the interest of the soul and it is oriented about an unchanging ideal of saintliness. As to the need for social reconstruction itself, the book is impressively reticent. The social reformer is mentioned on page ten, then vanishes, taking the problem of social reconstruction with him. On such matters as the bearing of science on war the author has confessedly not gone beyond Robert Millikan—which calls for no comment.

The fact is that, at bottom, Dr. Sarton's faith in the accomplishment of the synthesis he calls the New Humanism rests upon what he thinks the study of the history of science would do. Such a study he seems to believe, has the magical power of doing the work which some of us are convinced would require important social alterations. In origin and development science has been actuated by thoroughly human purposes. The appreciation of this fact, inescapable in a study of the history of science, this "humanizing" of science he thinks would humanize the student, and so would turn the trick.

"Some ignorant fools" says Dr. Sarton, "would make us believe that knowledge destroys idealism." Well, it does and should destroy some kinds of idealism. We had better be looking about to discern what kind of ideals are being destroyed, and whether it is really knowledge that is destroying them. "The evils of the so-called 'machine age'," he says again, have been caused "above all by the insatiable greed of men of prey." It is just possible that the cause is far more complex, and that to find a modern devil to blame is to delude ourselves and to contribute toward the confusion of mind which is already confused enough.

M. C. OTTO

University of Wisconsin

Sociology, Past and Present, in Japan. JUNICHIRO MATSUMOTO, YUZURU OKADA, and other members of the Japanese Sociological Society. Tokyo: Sansyusya Press, 1937. Pp. 66.

This little pamphlet of sixty-six pages attempts to summarize the status of sociology in Japan. The treatment is considered under the following headings: General Sociology; The Family; The Folk; The State and the Class; Rural Sociology; Urban Sociology; Population; Vocational, Moral, Juridical, Religious, and Educational Sociology; The Sociology of Knowledge; The Newspaper; Social Consciousness; Social Change; Social Work; Social Policy; and Social Research. Of necessity the treatment is too brief

to be of great value. It does indicate that sociology in Japan has been recent and has largely followed Western sociological thought. The pamphlet is interesting in showing that sociologists in Japan have been careful not to conduct research along lines which might embarrass the dominant state power, but have followed along lines which are "safe, sane and respectable."

JEROME DAVIS

West Haven, Conn.

A History of Political Theory. By GEORGE H. SABINE. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937. Pp. ix+795. \$4.00.

History of Political Philosophy. By THOMAS I. COOK. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. Pp. xviii+711. \$4.00.

History of Economic Thought. (3rd. ed.) By LEWIS H. HANEY. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xx+847. \$3.60.

The Social Contract. By J. W. GOUGH. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1936. Pp. 235. \$5.00.

From Hegel to Marx. By SIDNEY HOOK. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936. Pp. 322. \$4.00.

The Conquest of Power, Vols. I and II. By ALBERT WEISBORD. New York: Covici Friede, 1937. Pp. 1208. \$7.50.

Whither France? By LEON TROTSKY. New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1936. Pp. 155. \$1.00.

The Revolution Betrayed. By LEON TROTSKY. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1937. Pp. 308. \$2.50.

The 3rd International After Lenin. By LEON TROTSKY. New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1936. Pp. li+357. \$3.00.

When two histories of political thought covering approximately the same ground appear at almost the same time, comparison necessarily intrudes itself. Sabine's *A History of Political Theory* is an orthodox text, written in a clear if uninspired style, and granting some place to interpretation in terms of social relativism. The author's ethical predilections are often in evidence, but are never over stressed. Sabine makes no claim to impartiality, believing such an attitude to be either "superficiality or pretense." This is an easy way out of the problem, but one may well ask whether it is not too easy. At any rate, we have here a useful text, well indexed, and likely to meet with wide adoption in courses in government. It is not destined to find much hearing among sociologists.

The other term of our comparison, Cook's *History of Political Philosophy*, does not range over so wide a field. Stopping short with Burke, it probably will not find so hearty a reception as Sabine's volume, inasmuch as the latter includes the contemporary scene. Considered strictly on its merits rather than its adaptability to course requirements, however, Cook has

provided us with a far better book. The style is flowing and lucid, and a great deal of attention is paid to the socio-cultural background of the theories considered. Much effort is devoted to a type of analysis closely paralleling the modern substantive "sociology of knowledge." Value-judgments are kept to a minimum, and the author has not shrunk from the duty of generalization. Any thorough course in the history of social thought should include, as supplementary reading, the chapters on "Aristotle: Politics as Sociology and Ethics," "English Thought Under the Tudors and Stuarts: Conflicts Concerning Power, Property, and Religion," and "Burke: Historical Liberalism as the Basis of Conservatism." The work is well indexed, but unfortunately does not contain a bibliography of any consequence; casual notes at the ends of the chapters are not a good substitute for a comprehensive list of books used and recommended. There is some evidence of attention to the periodical literature, but the absence of footnotes makes it difficult to verify one's assumptions.

It may seem odd to mention a history of economic thought in this context, but the water-tight divisions separating specialized courses are fortunately beginning to leak a little. Haney's *History of Economic Thought* is now in its third edition, and manifests all the merits of the earlier versions. There has been some effort to bring the concluding chapter up-to-date, but insufficient attention is paid to the autarchic doctrines of Naziism and Fascism. It simply does not do to dismiss them as Mercantilistic revivals. Moreover, Romantic economic theory has in general been slighted. The style is pedestrian and soporific, and students will not lay aside *Esquire* in favor of Haney. There is an adequate index and a good bibliography of American economists active between 1850 and 1915. The other bibliographical notes deal with the standard treatises, but do not include reference to periodical literature. Where these are given they are buried in fine-print footnotes. Larger margins and a more opaque paper would have been to the credit of the publishers. The table of contents is quite detailed but could well have been expanded. Sociologists will have little or no use for this book, even as supplementary reading. Courses in government might well include portions of it. Especially to be recommended are chapters nine to eighteen; they may help to make more vivid the economic background of social contract doctrines.

We have long been in need of a specialized up-to-date study of the development of social contract theories, and Gough's *The Social Contract* is a good first step. Too brief to be really exhaustive, and insufficiently related to socio-cultural trends, it nevertheless succeeds in clearing up a number of moot points. A valuable feature is the discussion of Friedrich's interpretation of Althusius; here the attack on Gierke is taken note of, and an attempt to solve the dilemma is made. The present reviewer thinks that Gough is right in maintaining that Althusius was really an exponent of social contract rather than the corporative state, though there are undoubtedly some features of Friedrich's interpretation that wholly invalidate Gierke. Gough's book is not designed as a text, but should have a good library sale. As is the case with most British books, the scholarly apparatus is sadly deficient.

There is no lack of conflict in *From Hegel to Marx*. Sidney Hook has come to grips with the struggle between the religious motif in Hegel and the activist atheism of Marx, and has fought the battle through. The reviewer knows of no more trenchant study of the dialectic, nor of the influence of Marx's contemporaries upon him. Scholarly in the best sense, Hook has here presented us with a work that does him far more credit than his *Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx*. Refreshingly free from orthodoxies of right or left, he emerges as a first rank expositor and critic in his chosen field.

But alas! The field he has chosen is full of weeds. The two bulky tomes by Albert Weisbord, entitled *The Conquest of Power*, purport to be a survey of liberalism, anarchism, syndicalism, socialism, fascism, and communism, but they really constitute a Communist tract proclaiming a Fourth International. Weisbord is occasionally critical of Trotsky, but the state of affairs he envisages would be but a concrete realization of Trotsky's "theory of permanent revolution." Students of the sociology of politics can make much use of Weisbord's book, for it shows how inevitable is the growth of the sectarian frame of mind in all revolutionary movements, and why terrors and purges reappear with such clock-like regularity. The work is well bound and indexed, but is inadequately subdivided and suffers from a sketchy table of contents. To find one's way around in this wilderness of over 1200 pages with the guidance provided is an almost impossible task. Moreover, the style is altogether lacking in sparkle and vigor.

A disguised pamphleteer like Weisbord inevitably suffers in comparison with an open propagandist who makes no scholarly pretenses. Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, *Whither France?*, and *The 3rd International After Lenin* are at least free from shilly-shallying. The Trotskyist theses are well known, and it is unnecessary to burden our readers with a résumé of them. Suffice it to say that if one is looking for a forceful and convincing attack on Stalinism, these three books provide it. *Whither France?* is of course somewhat specialized in character, but its critique of the Popular Front falls into the general pattern of Trotskyist opposition theory. As is usually the case with works of this character, printing, binding, and scholarly apparatus are of poor quality, but who would impose academic criteria on weapons forged for Armageddon?

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America. By JAMES DOMBROWSKI, New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. ix+208. \$2.50.

Die ersten deutschen Genossenschaften (The First German Cooperatives). By OTTO RUHMER. Hamburg-Blankensee: Verlag Johs. Kröger, 1937. Pp. xxvi+294. RM 5.60.

Later than in the old industrial countries of Europe the Christian-Socialist movement was born in America. This is not surprising. Up to the outbreak of the Civil War the history of America is that of a great agricultural country. It is not until the onset of industrialization following the Civil

War, with the resulting concentration of labor in large cities, that we have the social problem of our day. It becomes the static problem of our times, compelling intellectual decision, and is itself the governing factor in the conflicts of the present. In the 'eighties of the preceding century the American churches could no longer avoid taking a stand with regard to this struggle. The "Social Gospel" was preached by religious Socialists in pamphlets and from pulpits. In the battle for social democracy—a battle which we are still waging—the best of them were accorded leading parts. This period is not long past, and yet has already become history. Dombrowski has done a fine piece of work in his book. Buttressed by profound study of sources, he gives a comprehensive picture of the first decades of Christian Socialism in America. He does not confine himself to an exposition of the intellectual struggle and the points at issue, but places the "personae" in the right perspective. No one who is studying the history of Socialism in America, or the history of the American churches, can afford to pass this volume by. It opens the way to an understanding of the intellectual currents of our day.

Dr. Ruhmer's book is the first volume of a collection of writings which were issued by Dr. Robert Schlosser under the title: "Early Beginnings of the German Cooperative Movement." The author tells us that the work was begun in Germany in 1924. Dr. Ruhmer left Germany in 1928, and the publication of his book was delayed until 1937. This has proved fatal. The publisher of the Schlosser collection has written a long foreword to Dr. Ruhmer's book; reading it, one hardly knows whether to be more angry or ashamed at what is stated therein by a former member of the cooperative movement. The very core of the cooperative is self-help, decision, and responsibility. Dictatorship is the arch-enemy of cooperative freedom. In Germany the rural cooperatives have been "tuned in" or regimented to the status of mere state units. In so far as the administration was not directly handed over to representatives of the sole governing party, all power now lies in the hands of the party bureaucracy. The independence and "home-rule" of the cooperatives have ceased. The consumer co-operatives were plundered and ruined by the National Socialists in their greed for booty. By 1936 half of the German consumer cooperatives were in liquidation. But Dr. Schlosser apparently knows nothing about all this when he writes: "The cooperative fits perfectly into the new State." Schlosser admits that he considers the "liberalistic" past to have been a mistake. He regrets that he wasted so much energy on the "idol" of freedom. The reader who, after this long preamble by Schlosser, still finds the courage to tackle the book itself, finds Dr. Ruhmer a great admirer of the cooperative movement as it was in 1934, at the time of its 75th anniversary. Not a word is to be found concerning the wreckage of decades of cooperative work. He speaks of the pride with which German cooperative members could look back upon the work which had been done up to December 15, 1934, yet he could hardly have been ignorant of the panic and indignation which filled cooperatives all over the world over the National-Socialist work of destruction. But leaving aside these introductory

remarks in which dictatorship is praised as the true freedom, the leadership principle exalted as true self-determination, the book sets forth valuable information concerning this first period of cooperative activity in Germany. The gathering up of the historical material, which was scattered through many archives, will lighten the work of the future historian of the German cooperative movement.

MAX BRAUER

New York

Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South. By WILLIAM SUMNER JENKINS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1936. Pp. xiii+381. \$2.50.

Just now the South seems to be the most active section of the country in reviewing its intellectual and social history. Research institutions, substantial research grants, and the rejuvenation of her universities have all contributed to this renaissance of Southern learning after a sleep of three-quarters of a century. The latest example of excellent reviews of the Southern past is this work by Dr. Jenkins of the University of North Carolina. The study is painstakingly thorough and, like other kindred pieces of research, reveals a degree of intellectual activity in the old antebellum South that is surprising to the present generation. The treatment is both historical and systematic. After about one hundred pages on the development of theories of slavery in the South from colonial times to the Civil War, the institutional aspects of slavery are discussed, and then the relations of slavery to government, and the moral philosophy and the ethnological theory of slavery are reviewed in detail and with close and full attention to the contributions of numerous writers. Of course most of this discussion falls within the range of sociological theory, but it also has strong connections with political science and anthropology. It is, in fact, one of the best introductions we have at present to a considerable phase of early sociological theory. The present writer is, however, surprised that not more attention was given to the theories of Henry Hughes, who was, he believes, the most acute analyst of slavery in the old South. There are good indices and bibliographies, and the book is itself one more witness to the splendid investigation in the social sciences by Dr. Odum's institution.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization. By ALFONS DOPSCH. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937. Pp. xiv+404. \$5.00.

The writings of the brilliant Austrian historian, Alfons Dopsch, have been accorded a preëminent place among the contemporary works on the transition from Roman civilization to medieval society in western Europe. His major work now appears in English dress in a good translation by M. G. Beard and Nadine Marshall.

Within our generation there has been a sweeping revision of the long popular view that Roman civilization was obliterated by a tidal wave of Germanic barbarism. We no longer believe that there was any sharp break between the classical and the medieval world. The decline was gradual, and a vast heritage from Rome was carried over into medieval culture.

All this has been made evident by such writers as J. B. Bury, Samuel Dill, and Ferdinand Lot. But Dopsch gives us by all odds the most thorough and convincing work presenting the new point of view. It is an indispensable book for anyone who presumes to understand the rise of medieval civilization and the origins of medieval institutions.

Not the least valuable portion of Dopsch's volume is the first chapter, in which the author reviews the various theories of the rise of medieval institutions held by historians during the last century. It is an invaluable review of the historiography of early medieval civilization.

Dopsch makes it abundantly clear that the Roman Empire did not come to any cataclysmic end. There was no "fall" of Rome. The Roman institutions and culture lingered on. The Germanic peoples were slowly but rather thoroughly Latinized, many of them before the days of the so-called invasions.

Historians were long wont to portray the glories of the age of Charlemagne, but Dopsch points out fully that the so-called Carolingian renaissance was really prepared for by the cultural and institutional fusions of the fifth and sixth centuries. The long-despised Merovingian age has been rescued from the slanders of Einhard and is now viewed as the era in which medieval institutions took form:

Much which once seemed to be a new and deliberate creation is now seen, owing to our clearer knowledge of the period, never to have been lost at all, but to have persisted in those obscure, sparsely documented and twilight centuries of European cultural development. The later centuries did but complete and extend what had already been introduced and established in that earlier age.

The only defect in the book is the failure to accord sufficient weight and significance to the contributions of Gaul to the development of early medieval civilization. Nevertheless, the Gallic influence is by no means ignored. Few volumes of our generation do more to clear up our understanding of an important period of cultural evolution.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

New School for Social Research

England 1870-1914. By R. C. K. ENSOR. Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xxiii+634. \$6.00.

This is the last volume of the Oxford History of England which will deal, when completed, in fourteen volumes with the history of England from Roman times to the World War. The author divides the history of the period with which he deals into three parts, from 1870 to 1886, then to 1900 and finally to 1914. He does not deal only with political history, but for each period he devotes a special chapter to "economics and institu-

tions" and another to "mental and social aspects." His chapters on economics and institutions start always with a discussion of comparative populations and birthrates. His book will repay reading not only for the historian but also for the sociologist. It is written with the quiet dignity and urbanity which is so frequently found in books by British scholars. Its viewpoint is liberal. Many issues of the prewar period are antiquated today, but many are still with us, and we must grapple with them as did the preceding generation. Dr. Ensor sums up in the following words the balance sheet of British prewar policy:

The sincere attempts which Grey made between Agadir and August 1914 to conciliate Germany and deprive her of any excuse for a sense of grievance, helped to foster the dangerous illusion that Great Britain would not stand by France. . . . Men still often criticize as entanglements those policies of Grey's, which helped to bring Great Britain into the War. They do not ask themselves what would have happened had she stood out. But the event made it fairly certain that in that case Germany would have conquered Europe; and when she had done so, Great Britain would have been a victim without hope or resource. . . . Credit is due to that statesman who ensured that when Great Britain, France, and Russia had to fight for their lives, they stood together to do so, and did not wait to be overwhelmed piecemeal.

HANS KOHN

Smith College

Creative India. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. Lahore: Motilal Benarsi Dass, 1937. Pp. xii+714. Rs. 15/.

Hindu Civilization. By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936. Pp. xv+351. \$6.00.

The Clear Mirror: A Pattern of Life in Goa and in Indian Tibet. By G. E. HUTCHINSON. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xi+171. \$2.50.

For over half a century two tendencies have been visible in Hindese (i.e., Indian) scholarship: one, a glorification of the heritage of Ancient India; and two, a critical attitude toward the achievements of the parvenu Occident. It is inevitable that Hindese scholars, smarting under a sense of political subjection to alien rule for a century and a half, should as a recompense go back to the epic and heroic ages of their country for moral sustenance and spiritual inspiration.

Europeans went to India for the purpose of trade and commerce, conquest and exploitation. This is indeed a true statement of the political relations between Europe and India for over three centuries. European contact with India ushered in the era of close cultural interaction between the Orient and the Occident. In the heyday of their achievements (roughly from the 9th century to the 15th) the Saracens had already acquainted Europe with some of the treasures of Hindu philosophy, literature, and science, including the numeral system and the different branches of mathematics. The direct contact between Europe and India, however, tended

to make accessible to Europeans the whole stream of the intellectual tradition of India. The Romantic movement in Europe and the transcendental school of thought in America, it is contended by Sarkar, received much nurture, if not original inspiration, from the Sanskrit literature, which became partly available to the Euro-American world through translations in English, French and German.

The main thesis of Hindese nationalist scholars has been admirably set forth by Sarkar: "It is a vicious practice to try to understand Hindu characteristics or the 'spirit' of the Hindus in an epoch of political nothingness. It is also unscientific to forget the actual superstitions and backwardnesses of the European Middle Ages and 'early modern' times while making an estimate of independent Hindu culture down to the end of the eighteenth century" (p. 9). "The little that is known of the Orient in Europe and America today," says Sarkar, "is, to say the least, based on a fundamentally wrong attitude of mind and unscientific presentation of the subject matter" (p. 3). Professors Sarkar and Mookerji as well as other Hindese scholars are undertaking to correct this error by supplying a new frame of reference "from the Indian [Hindese] point of view," to quote Professor Mookerji (p. ix).

According to Sarkar, "The real and only cause of the parting of the ways between the East and the West, nay, between the medieval and the modern, was the discovery of steam, or rather its application to production and transportation. The steam engine, patented by Watt in 1769, came into use in mines and iron works during 1775-85, and effected an 'industrial revolution' during the first decades of the nineteenth century" (pp. 17-18). In other words, whatever superiority in the field of material progress and scientific achievements, the Euro-American world of today may have over the Orient, especially India, is of very recent origin.

This point of view is also implicit in Mookerji's book. Developing the story of cultural evolution in India from prehistory to the invasion of the Punjab regions by Alexander the Great (327-325 B.C.), Professor Mookerji brings to bear his mature scholarship upon the problems of Vedic and post-Vedic civilization. His glowing descriptions of the cultural traditions, social institutions, political philosophies and legal systems of Ancient India create a distinct impression of the overwhelming superiority of India over contemporaneous Europe with the possible exception of the cultural island of Greece.

Not only was Ancient India creatively superior to Europe, maintains Sarkar, but India in her later career, too, led the way toward enlightenment until the expansion of Europe in the wake of the commercial and industrial revolutions. The discussion of culture contacts between Hindu and Muslim (pp. 337-343 and 379-395) marks a high watermark in Professor Sarkar's *Creative India*.

It is regrettable that Professor Sarkar did not devote a section in his voluminous work to an analysis of the role of language in nation building. It is the present reviewer's contention that in spite of the political suzerainty over the major part of India, first, by the Moguls and, later, by the

Marathas, India as a nation, as a political entity, did not come into being because of inadequate instrumentalities of communication among the masses of the people. Persian was the language of the Mogul Court and Marathi was the language of the Peshwa's Court. Different provinces of India developed languages of their own. Thus India became—and is to this day—a congeries of linguistic areas. The emergence of Hindese nationality was retarded in the Mogul period by four factors: (1) the lack of a common language, (2) the lack of technical means of communication, such as the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the radio, (3) vast distances and (4) provincial loyalties.

The works of Hindese scholars must be accepted as a new point of departure in our approach to the past, present, and future of India. Both Sarkar and Mookerji have admirably succeeded in presenting a new frame of reference for the study of India's history, due allowance being made for the present nationalist tendency to glorify everything Hindese.

The Clear Mirror records descriptions of life in Goa and Tibet by Mr. Hutchinson who, as a member of the Yale North India Expedition of 1932, visited the places described. Life in Goa as influenced by the work of Catholic missionaries from Spain and Portugal is vividly portrayed. Certain religious ceremonies in Tibet have been described as viewed from a close range.

Hutchinson's book as well as Mookerji's contains excellent illustrations. All three books are well indexed.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

New York City

European Civilization, Vol. V. Economic History of Europe Since the Reformation. Edited by EDWARD EYRE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. vii+1328. \$7.50.

This is the fifth volume of a seven volume work on "European Civilization: Its Origin and Development." Fortunately, the title is somewhat of a misnomer. While ample attention is given to economic development, quite as much space is devoted to social and institutional history of a decidedly high order. We already have numerous excellent books on the modern economic history of Europe, but we are sadly lacking in convenient summaries of the social history of this age. Consequently we gain from the fact that the book is not what it pretends to be, namely, a strict and literal economic history of Europe since 1500.

Sociologists will particularly welcome the fact that they will find in this book much relevant material on modern social history which has hitherto been inaccessible except in monographic literature. This is particularly true of the chapter on "The Growth of the Population of Europe," by the well-known sociologist, A. M. Carr-Saunders.

The book is a composite work by some fifteen specialists in various phases of modern economic, social and institutional history. It is not a coherent and well organized treatise which could be used satisfactorily as

a textbook on modern economic history. But as a source of information to those interested in the more fundamental developments of modern times, it is one of the most informing and serviceable volumes which have been published in our generation. It would be most helpful indeed if the book could be made required reading in general courses on the history of modern Europe.

The book starts off with an account of the rise of capitalism, laying special stress upon religious changes and the growth of modern industry. Much attention is also given to the history of the European peasantry and agricultural developments, as well as to population trends and their influence upon economic history. Unfortunately, the general perspective for this period, which can be furnished only by proper attention to the expansion of Europe and the commercial revolution, is lacking.

The second part of the book is devoted primarily to the evolution of banking and finance, supplying a survey not hitherto available in any general work in the English language. It is a valuable introduction to the financial basis of the evolution of modern capitalism. The next section of the work deals with the development of economic and social theory together with their applications. The book concludes with a survey of legal and administrative evolution, with special attention to law and political administration. There is also a summary of modern military and naval history, together with a review of the evolution of internationalism, plans for international organization, and programs of perpetual peace.

Sociologists will find this book one of the most convenient and helpful contributions to the study of the social evolution in modern times which has come to them from the historical field in a decade.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

New School for Social Research

The World of Hesiod: A Study of the Greek Middle Ages. By ANDREW ROBERT BURN. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1937. Pp. xv+263. \$3.50.

This book is a brave attempt to apply the methods of social anthropology to the Greek society of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C. Its limitations derive largely from the paucity of materials adequate to the completion of this task. One may question the full reliability of the single document—Hesiod's *Works and Days* of 828 lines—which is used as the primary source and guide to the "life of the times." This material is ingeniously supported by reference to the "survivals of old ideas" in later documents, by the method of *Rückschlüssen* which is at best suggestive rather than convincing. But these materials have been critically adopted and, within these unavoidable limits, Mr. Burn has contributed a study of the first importance.

His discussion of the social organization of this era, sharpened by comparison with that of earlier and succeeding periods, is especially notable. It provides useful correctives for the occasionally too facile interpretations

of Glotz. Magic, law, the state, property, and the family are each accorded as full discussion as the data permit. Mr. Burn's conclusion that Hesiod placed technical rules of farming, moral norms, and magical prescriptions on the same plane is not warranted by the facts. Hesiod's repeated emphasis on the need for work, economy, and planning suggests that magic is an *added* precaution which could never be invoked in lieu of work and which, in contrast to technical procedures, might be dispensed with, if necessity demanded. The relevance of class differences in respect to all of these fields is clearly demonstrated. Finally, the problem of the institutional regulation of (homo- and hetero-) sexual life is discussed temperately and with discrimination, in contrast to J. D. Unwin's *Sex and Culture* (which, curiously enough, is cited with approval) and to Licht's earlier work which relied so heavily on the muckraking Alexandrian, Athenaios.

There is much in this book which will undoubtedly require modification as new archaeological materials are discovered, but as it stands, it is a most welcome contribution to our understanding of the social organization of this period.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Harvard University

The Methodology of Educational Research. By CARTER V. GOOD, A. S. BARR, and DOUGLAS E. SCATES. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Pp. xxii+822. \$3.75.

On the Educational Front. The Reactions of Teachers Associations in New York and Chicago. By WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 218. \$2.75.

The Methodology of Educational Research is a book intended to spread what is known about educational research more widely in the field. The authors have succeeded very well in presenting a simple but accurate description of research methods commonly employed. They distinguish historical, normative-survey, and experimental methods, and give a brief description of each. The procedures included under the category of normative-survey are: survey-testing, questionnaire, documentary frequency, interview, observational, and survey-appraisal. The approach to problems of method is in no way doctrinaire. There is no one method of study which these writers regard as the road to scientific salvation. Illustrations are drawn from a wide range of sources. Although they rely heavily on documentation, the authors have made considerable use of their own common-sense knowledge of their field. There are very extensive bibliographies on every subject treated; the work is excellently indexed, and there is an appendix devoted to needed research in education. Perusal of such a volume makes the sociologist regret that there is no similar treatise of equal value in his own field.

On the Educational Front is a study of teachers' organizations in New York and Chicago. There are about two hundred such organizations in the

cities studied. At the time of the study these groups were active in resisting the drive to reduce expenditures for education and to lower the salaries of teachers. After sketching in the background of the New York and Chicago public school systems, Wattenberg proceeds to analyze the organizations, their constitutions, members, leaders, conflicts, alliances, the outside influences operating upon them, and their strategy.

The sociologist looking for material on the organized group will find Wattenberg's book of great value. His analysis of the inner dynamics of such groups is at times extremely penetrating. He shows that the great mass of the members of a large group are inactive, and that patterns of hidden leadership and of control by small cliques frequently arise without diabolical intention on the part of anyone concerned. In most organizations power is concentrated in the executive committee as a result of unreflective interaction rather than Machiavellian manipulation. He analyzes the personalities of leaders, laying bare their motivations and describing their techniques. He shows how the necessary differences between the leadership of radical and conservative groups arise. The deep cleavage between supervisors and teachers is also analyzed. A bibliography and an index are included.

WILLARD WALLER

Barnard College

Handbook of Latin American Studies. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xv+517. \$4.00.

This Handbook is in reality a bibliography of materials published in 1936 on anthropology, art, education, folklore, geography, government, history, international relations, language and literature, and law, collected, arranged and introduced by a considerable number of North American and Latin American scholars. The reviewer will not attempt to pass on the merits of the performance within each of the special subjects mentioned above, but he does feel called upon to mention the fact that there is no section on sociology in the handbook. His surprise at this discovery led him to inquire of the editor the reason for the omission. The following explanation was given: "The omission of a sociology section is due to several reasons. Our space is limited and therefore we cannot include all that it would be desirable to include. Moreover, we know of no one who is prepared to direct a section on the field as a whole. Then, again, it would be difficult for me, at least, to know how to delimit the field."

Yet, even Harvard now has a department of sociology. It seems that Foundations (in this case the American Council of Learned Societies) still give money for research to people who do not know how to define fields of research and who do not know how to find researchers who do know!

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University